THE GROWTH OF THE PARAMARA POWER IN MALWA

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by

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Preface

The present work, a thesis submitted and approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, embodies the results of research conducted by the author during the last several years.

As the work primarily deals with the Growth of the Paramara power in Malwa' I have confined myself to the study of the political history of that House from king Upendra to Bhoja The first chapter deals with the origin of the Paramaras Various theories, as propounded by D R Bhandarkar and C V. Vaidya have been critically discussed I have tried to establish that the Paramaras were originally Brahmanas, who had taken up the profession of arms. Their original home, Mount Abu and the regions around, has also been discussed.

The second chapter critically examines the 'tripartite struggle' and the foundation of the Paramara power in Malwa The views of Altekar and Majumdar have been discussed and I have suggested that Upendra came from the South and he possibly belonged to the Brahmana aristocracy of Manyakheta

In the third chapter the political history of the Paramaras from Upendra to Vairisimha II has been critically given The author does not agree with the common view that Upendra of the Udayapur Prasasti is identical with P. M P Krishnaraja of the grants of Vakpati Munja In my opinion the latter is identical with Bappaiparaja of the Harsola Plates and Vakpati I of the Udayapur Prasasti and the Navasahasanka-Carita.

The fourth chapter deals with the Imperial Paramaras from Siyaka II to Sindhuraja. I have stated my reasons of disagreement with D C Ganguly regarding his identifications of Utpalaraja of the Vasantagarh inscription with Utpalaraja (Vakpati-Munja)

of Malwa and Sindhuraja of the Kiradu inscription with Sindhuraja-Navasahasanka The identification of the Gurjara king with the Chaulukya Mularaja I is also not acceptable to me The story of Munja's attempt to assassinate Bhoja, as referred to in the Prabandhas, has also been critically discussed in detail.

In the fifth chapter the political history of the time of Bhojadeva has been presented in detail, critically examining various theories A short history of the city of Dhara is also given and the evidence of the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara has been utilised to show the scheme of fortifications, which the Paramara capital had

The sixth chapter reviews the Paramara administration in its different aspects The contemporary administrative evidence has been used to draw reasonable inferences An Appendix is given at the end with descriptive list of relevant Paramara inscriptions.

I am deeply indebted to Prof K D Bajpai, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Saugar, for his invaluable advice, guidance and sympathy I am also grateful to my friends Shri Kaushal Kishor Seth, Late Shri Nawal Kishor Seth and my wife, who helped me in various ways to complete this work My thanks are also due to Prof. D. D. Vidyarthi, Principal I. Y. Khan and Dr L. S Saksena.

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CHAPTER ONE

Origin of the Paramaras

All the available evidence, which throws light on the origin of the Paramaras, may broadly be classified under three heads, namely, (i) Traditional (ii) Literary and the (iii) Epigraphic Out of these three sources the second and the third may either be assigned certain definite dates or are dated records, while for the first, which primarily constitutes the bardic tales of Rajputana, no definite time can be fixed It can not be denied that Tradition is nothing but a part of history but where it is in contradiction with dated literary or epigraphic evidence, the evidential value of the former should be adjudged with caution The origin of the Paramaras is of a highly controversial nature, every piece of evidence should be weighed properly, dispassionately and without any prejudice

Padmagupta, the celebrated Court-poet of Vakpatiraja Munja and of his younger brother Sindhuraja, who flourished between 975-1025 A D,[1] refers to the Fire-Pit origin of the Paramaras in his work Navasahasanka-Carita, which he wrote[2] in praise of Sindhuraja Navasahasanka, the father of Paramara Bhojadeva Describing the origin of the Paramaras he says —

"There (on mount Arbuda[3]) the wise house-priest (Vasistha)

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1 *The glory that was Gurjaradesa* Part III, p 15

2 दिव यियासुर्मम वाचि मुद्रामदत्त या वाक्पतिराजदेव ।
तस्यानुजन्मा कविबाधवोसौ भिनत्ति ता सप्रति सिन्धुराज ॥
Navasahasanka-Carita, I, 8

3 ब्रह्माण्डमण्डपस्तम्भ श्रीमानस्त्यर्वुदो गिरि ।
उपोढहसिका यस्य मरित सालभज्जिका ॥
Navasahasanka-Carita, XI, 49.

of the Iksvakus made a sage's grove, rich in wild rice, fruits, roots, fire-wood and Kusa-grass

His wish-granting cow was once stolen and carried away by the son of Gadhi (Visvamitra), as was that of Jamadagni by Arjuna, Krtavirya's offspring

Arundhati, upon whose bosom the silk garment was bathed with tears, became a log, on account of her husband's wrath

Thereupon the first of the judges of the Atharvana Songs (Vasistha) with holysayings, threw an offering into the fire, which kindling up with broad flames, seemed to bear an ascetic's hair braid

Quickly a man sprang out of the fire, with bow and crown and golden armour.

By him the cow of the wiseman, led away by Visvamitra, was brought back, as the sun brings back the light of day, which has been led away by the thick darkness

He received from the sage the fitting name of Paramara—Killer of the enemy—and a ruler's power over the globe, before whom all the parasols of all other kings were shut".[1]

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1 *I A*, vol XXXVI, p 162

अतिस्वाधीननीवार-फल-मूल-समित्कुशम् ।
मुनिस्तपोवन चक्रे तत्रेक्ष्वाकुपुरोहित ॥६४॥

हृता तस्यैकदा धेनु कामसूर्गाधिसूनुना ।
कार्तवीर्यार्जुनेनैव जमदग्नेरनीयत ॥६५॥

स्थूलाश्रुधारासन्तानस्नपितस्तनवल्कला ।
अमर्षपावकस्याभूद्भर्तुस्समिदरुन्धती ॥६६॥

अथाथर्वविदामाद्यस्समन्त्रामाहुतिं ददौ ।
विकसद्विकटज्वालाजटिले जातवेदसि ॥६७॥

तत क्षणात्स कोदण्ड किरीटी काञ्चनाङ्गद ।
उज्जगामाग्नित कोपि सहेमकवच पुमान् ॥६८॥

दूर सन्तमसेनेव विश्वामित्रेण साहृता ।
तेनानिन्ये मुनेर्धेनुर्दिनश्रीरिव भानुना ॥६९॥

परमार इति प्रापत्समुनेर्नाम चार्थवत् ।
मीलितान्यनृपच्छत्रामातपत्रञ्च भूतले ॥७१॥

Navasahasanka-Carita, XI, vv 64-71.

Dhanapala, the author of 'Tilakamanjari' was a prominent writer of Dhara and a contemporary of Bhojadeva,[1] the Paramara ruler of Malwa He supports the above theory of the origin of the Paramaras and says that "The Gurjaras on the Abu mountain still remember the prowess of the king Paramara, who sprang out of the sacrificial fire pit of Vasistha and conquered Visvamitra" [2]

The Bhavisya Purana traces back the origin of the Paramaras as early as the times of emperor Asoka It mentions that it was during his reign that some Kanyakubja Brahmana performed a sacrifice on the Abu Mountain to propitiate Brahma and due to the effects of the Veda Mantras four Kshatriyas were born out of that sacrifice and in whom the follower of the Samaveda was the Pramara or Paramara,[3] who was the ruler of Avanti[4]

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1 *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 60-61

2 वासिष्ठैस्म कृतस्मयो वरशतैरस्त्यग्निकुण्डोद्भवो ।
भूपाल परमार इत्यभिधया ख्यातो महीमण्डले ॥
अद्याप्युद्धतहर्षगद्गदगिरो गायन्ति यस्यार्बुदे ।
विश्वामित्रजयोज्झितस्य भुजयोर्विस्फूर्जित गुर्जरा ॥

Tilakamanjari, v 39,

3 विंदुसारस्ततोऽभवत् ।
पितुस्तुल्य कृत राज्यमशोकस्तनयोऽभवत् ॥४४॥
एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु कान्यकुब्जो द्विजोत्तम ।
अर्बुद शिखर प्राप्य ब्रह्महोममथोकरोत् ॥४५॥
वेदमत्र प्रभावाच्च जाताश्चत्वारि क्षत्रिया ।
प्रमरस्सामवेदी च चपहानिर्यजुर्विद ॥४६॥
त्रिवेदी चू तथा शुक्लोथर्वा स परिहारक ।
ऐरावत कुले जातान्गजानारुह्यते पृथक् ॥४७॥

4 अवन्ते प्रमरोभूपश्चतुर्योजनविस्तृताम ।
अम्बावती नाम पुरीमध्यास्य सुखितो भवत् ॥४९॥
Bhavisya Purana Pratisarga Parva, Khanda 1, Chap 6, *p 258*

Abul Fazl, the author of the A'in-i-Akbari refers to the fire-origin of the Paramaras but he narrates a story which is entirely different from that of Padmagupta or Dhanapala "It is said that two thousand, three hundred and fifty-five years, five months and twenty-seven days prior to this, the 40th year of the Divine Era (i e B C. 761), an ascetic named Mahabah, kindled the first flame in a fire-temple, and devoting himself to the worship of God, resolutely set himself to the consuming of his rebellious passions Seekers after eternal welfare gathered round him, Zealous in a life of mortification About this time the Buddhists began to take alarm and appealed to the temporal sovereign, asserting that in this fire-temple, many living things were consumed in flaming fire, and that it was advisable that Brahmanical rites should be set aside, and that he should secure the preservation of life. It is said that their prayer was heard, and the prohibition against the said people was enforced These men of mortified appetites resolved on redress, and sought by prayer a deliverer who should over throw Buddhism and restore their own faith The Supreme Justice brought forth from this fire-temple, now long grown cold, a human form, resplendent with divine majesty, and bearing in its hand a flashing sword In a short space, he enthroned himself on the summit of power, and renewed the Brahmanical observance He assumed the name of Dhanji and coming from the Deccan, established his seat of government at Malwah and attained to an advanced age

When Putraj, the fifth in descent from him, died without issue, the nobles elected Aditya Ponwar his successor, and this was the origin of the sovereignty of this house" [1]

An account of the origin of the Paramaras in also found in the Prithvi Raj Raso of Chand, "according to whom an incantation was commenced by the whole body of Rishis or holy sages on Mount Abu under the leadership of Vasistha The ceremony was interrupted by the demons (Rakshasas), when at the prayer

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1 *A' in-i-Akbari,* Trans by Jarrett vol II, pp 214-215

of Vasishtha, there appeared the Rathor, the Chaluk, and the Pamar, who encountered the demons but were unable to overcome them Then the Rishi prayed again, and instantly there appeared a fourth warrior, the Chahuwan Chatur-vir-Chahuwan, who defeated and slew the demons, and the ceremony was successfully concluded by the assembled Rishis" [1] Cunningham is perfectly correct in pointing out that the substitution of the name of Rathor in place of the Parihara is a mistake, as the latter "is universally admitted to have been one of the four Agnikulas" [1]

Tod, on the basis of bardic tales of Rajputana, records a detailed account of the creation of the four Agnikula races including the Paramaras as follows [2] ·—

"Notwithstanding the sanctity of Aboo, and the little temptation to disturb the anchorites of Pal," the Moonis, who passed their time in devotion, whom desire never approached, who drew support from the cow, from roots, fruits, and flowers", yet did the Daityas, envying their felicity, render the sacrifice impure, and stop in transit the share of the gods"

"The Brahmins dug the pit for burntsacrifice to the south-west (nairit), but the demons raised storms which darkened the air and filled it with clouds of sand, showering ordure, blood bones and flesh, with every impurity, on their rites Their penance was of no avail"

"Again they kindled the sacred fire, and the priests, assembling round the Agnicoonda, prayed for aid to Mahadeva"

"From the Fire-fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prithiha-dwara (which ultimately

1 *A S I*, vol II, (1871), p. 255

2 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Popular Edition) pp 101-102, *A S I* vol II, p 255.

was contracted to Parihara and Pratihara) A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (Chaloo) of the hand was named Chalooka (Caulukya) A third appeared and was named Pramara He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail".

"Again Vasistha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations, again he called the gods to aid and, as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose, lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (Chatooranga), whence his name, Chohan".

According to Mukji, the bard of the Khichi Chohans, "The Solankhi was born from Brahma s essence and received the appellation of Chaluk-Rao The Puwar (Paramara) was born from Siva's essence The Pariyar originated from the essence of Devi (Goddess) The chosen race, the Chahuwan sprang up from the fount of fire and wandered forth, leaving Abu for Abharh".[1]

According to another bard, "once Indra made an image of durva grass (panicum dactylon), sprinkled over it the water of life, and threw it into the firepit Next the '*S*ajivana-mantra' (life-giving spell) was repeated, whereupon a mace-bearing figure sprang from the flames shouting "Mar, Mar" '(Slay)' He was given the name Paramara ('Slayer of the Enemy'), and received Abu, Dhar and Ujjain as his heritage" [2]

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1. व्रह्मा-जी-का अस सोलखि पैंदा हुआ,
व्रह्मा चालुक राव कुवाय;
सिव-का अंस-का पुवार पैंदा हुआ,
देवी-का अस-का परियार पैंदा हुआ,
अनल-कुड सु उपन, अलनर फेरियान
आवू तज अभारगढ, चाहो-व्रस चाहुवान ।
A. S I, vol. II, p 254.

2 *Bom Gaz*, vol IX, p 485, *History of the Paramara Dynasty* p 2

The Udayapur[1] Inscription of Udayaditya, the Paramara ruler of Malwa is the earliest epigraphic record (about 1072 A D) to register the Fire-pit origin of Upendra Raja,[1] the founder of the house It mentions that the sage Vasistha had his ashrama or hermitage on the Arbuda (Abu) mountain, which was situated in the west, and he possessed a cow Once the sage Visvamitra trespassed in to the ashrama of Vasistha and forcibly took away his cow On this a 'Vira', who came out of the sacrificial fire-pit of Vasistha exterminated the enemies and brought back the cow to him Seeing this the sage named that 'Vira' as Paramara and gave him the blessings to become a lord (of kings)

Besides this, there are a number of other epigraphic records, most of which belong to the Paramara house of Abu, which record almost the same story about the mythical birth of the Paramaras. They are :—

(i) The Nagpur Stone Inscription of Naravarman,[2]
(ii) The Vasantgadh Inscription of Purnapala, dated v s 1099 (=1042 A D[3]),
(iii) The Mount Abu Inscriptions, Nos. I and II,[4]

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1 अस्त्युर्वीध्र प्रतीच्या हिमगिरितनय सिद्धद (दा) पत्यसिद्ध ।
स्थानञ्च ज्ञानभाजामभिमतफलदोऽखर्वित सोऽर्व्वुदाख्य ॥४॥
विश्वामित्रो वसिष्ठादहरत व (ल) तो यत्र गा तत्प्रभावाज्जज्ञे वीरोऽग्नि-
कुण्डाद्रिपुवलनिधनं यश्चकारैक एव ॥५॥
मारयित्वा परान्धेनुमानिन्ये स ततो मुनि ।
उवाच परमारा [ख्यपा) र्थिवेन्द्रो भविष्यसि ॥६॥
तदन्ववायेऽखिलयज्ञसघतृप्तामरोदाहृतकीर्तिरासीत् ।
उपेन्द्रराजो द्विजवर्गरत्नं सौ (शौ) र्यार्ज्जितोत्तुङ्गनृपत्व (मा) न ॥७॥
E. I vol I, p 234

2 *Ibid* vol. II, p 180

3. *I A* , vol. IX, p 12

4 *E I* , vol. VIII, p 200

(iv) An unpublished Inscription in the Acalesvara temple at Abu,[1]

(v) The Patanarayana Temple Inscription dated v. s. 1344 (=1287 A D),[2]

(vi) The Arthuna Inscription of the Paramara Camundaraja,[3]

(vii) The Mount Abu Inscription,[4]

(viii) The Panahera Inscription,[5]

A perusal of the above evidence clearly shows that while the literary and epigraphic records give an unanimous verdict about the Fire-pit origin of the Paramaras, the bardic tales differ, as Mukji, the bard of the Khichi Chohans, refers to the origin of the Puwar (Paramara) from the essence of Siva The evidence in favour of the Fire-pit origin of the Paramaras is such that it can not be lightly brushed aside and it deserves a sober consideration We, therefore, propose to take up this problem, whether the story of the Fire-pit origin has got any historical truth in it or it is merely a myth or legend

Padmagupta or Parimala is the first literary personage to record the Fire-pit origin of the Paramaras in his work Navasahasanka-Carita The date, which is assigned to him falls between A D 975 and 1025,[6] though the probable date of the compilation of the work may be placed between the years 996-

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1 तत्राय मैत्रावरुणस्य जुह्वत–
श्चण्डोग्निकुण्डात्पुरुष पुराऽभवत्
मत्वा मुनीन्द्र परमारणक्षम
स व्याहरत्त परमारसञ्ज्ञया ॥११॥

I A. vol. XLIII, p 193, (footnote 2)

2 *I A* vol 45, p 77

3. *E, I*, vol XIV, p 295

4 *E I*, vol IX, p 148

5 Bhandarkar's *List*, No 133

6. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, p. 15.

1000 A. D.[1] He was the chief Court-poet of Vakpatiraja Munja,[2] the Paramara rular of Malwa,[3] who possibly ascended the throne sometime before A D 974 Siyak all[4] was the father and the immediate predecessor of Vakpatiraja-Munja and whose Harsola Plate[5] dated v s 1005 (=948 A D) throws new light upon the origin of the Paramaras The importance of this grant, which happens to be the earliest record of the Paramara royal house of Malwa, lies in the fact that it does not make the slightest reference to the Fire-pit origin of the Paramaras but on the contrary traces their origin to the Rastrakuta race It runs as follows —

"*Parama- bhattaraka - maharajadhiraja - paramesvara - Srimad-Amoghavarsa-deva-padanudhyata-parama-bhattaraka-maharajadhiraja-paramesvara-Srimad-Akalavarsa-deva-prthvivallabha- Srivallabha-narendra-padanam*

Tasmin Kule Kalmasa-mosa-dakse/Jatah paratapagni-hutaripaksah V (B) appaiyarajeti nrpah prasiddhas tasmat suto bhud anu Vairisimha/Drpt-ari-vanita-vaktra-camdra-V (b) imv (b) a-Kalamkata no dhautayasya kirty api-Hara-has-avadataya/Durvvara-ripu-bhupala-rana-ramgaika-nayakah/nrpah Sri-Siyakas tasmat kula-kalpadrumo bhavat"

Certain reasonable inferences can be drawn from this evidence Firstly, the story of the Fire-pit origin of the Paramaras was not current during the reign of Siyaka II Had it not been the case, the story would have found place in the Harsola Plate, as we find it in the Udayapur[6] Inscription of the Paramara ruler

1 *History of Paramara Dynesty*, p 10, footnote
2 *Navasahsanka Carita*, Sarga I, v 6
3 *I A*, vol VI, p. 51.
4 *E I*, vol II, p 184
5. *E I*, vol XIX, pp 241-242
6 *E I*, vol I, p 234

Udayaditya The fact, that Siyaka II and his predecessors claim their birth in the renowned family (*"Tasmin Kule Kalmasa-mosadakse"*[1]) of Akalavarsa-deva, who is no one else but Akalavarsa Krsna III, the Rastrakuta Emperor of Manyakheta, clearly cuts at the very roots of the Fire-pit origin theory of the Paramaras We agree with D C Ganguly[2] that the possible inference, which can be drawn from the mention of the name of the Rastrakuta Emperor in this Paramara-grant, is that Siyaka II possibly, acknowledged Akalavarsa-deva as his paramount sovereign But it appears, that the acceptance of the Rastrakuta sovereignty was merely nominal, as even in the early years of his reign, we find him taking the high-sounding titles of Maharajadhirajapati and Mahamandalika-Cudamani [3] To suggest that Siyaka II, in-order to flatter the vanity of his over-lord, claimed his descent from the Rastrakutas in place of the fire-origin of his house, is inconceivable

Secondly, we will try to show that the Agnikula theory of the Paramaras had not originated even during the reign of Vakpatiraja Munja, the son and successor of Siyaka II Padmagupta, though a court-poet of Munja, has referred to the fire-origin of the Paramaras in his work Navasahasanka-Carita,[4] which was composed by him after the death of Vakpatirajadeva and in praise of his patron Sindhuraja Navasahasanka [5] Bhatta Halayudha, who was at the court of Vakpatiraja Munja and who wrote his commentary 'Mrtasamjivani'[6] on the "Pingala-Chan-

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1 *E I*, vol XIX, p 241

2 *History of Paramara dynesty*, p 9

3 *E I*, vol XIX, p 242

4 *I A*, vol XXVI, p 162

5 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga I, v 8

6 Sajayati Vakpati-rajah Sakalarthi-manorathaika-Kalpa-taruh/ Pratyarthi bhuta-parthiva-lakshmi-hatha-harana-durlalitah/ Edited by Visvanath Sastri, Calcutta, 1874, (Bibl Ind) and by Kedarnath and Panashikar, Bombay, 1908 (Kavyamala Series, No 91)

dasutra", does not make the slightest mention of the Fire-origin of the 'Paramaravamsa' but refers to it as 'Brahma-Kshtra-Kulinah',[1] an expression which is subject to different interpretations, which we propose to discuss later on If the Paramaras owed their origin to the sacrificial-pit of the sage Vasistha and if the story of their birth was prevalent by this time, what was there to restrain Bhatta Halayudha from making an explicit mention of it? Do the protagonists of the Fire-origin of the Paramaras like us to suppose that there was a delibrate and planned attempt on the part of Halayudha to canceal the true fact of the origin of the Paramaras?

As the Navasahasanka-Carita is the earliest work to refer to the fire-origin of the Paramaras, we are of the view that no one else but its author Padmagupta was the real originator of this idea If it is correct, it will mean that the above theory had its birth sometimes between A D 996 and A D 1000, the probable period of the compilation of the above work The reason, which motivated Padmagupta to invent and propegate this novel idea is not far to seek We agree with D C Ganguly when he says 'In that age, it was a general costom among the imperial ruling dynasties to trace their origin from some mythical heroes and to name their families after them ![2] The Pratiharas of Kanauj traced their descent from Laksmana a stern rod of chastisement in war with Meghanada, the destroyer of Indra's pride who served as a door bar of Rama *(tasy=anujo=sau Maghava-mada-musho-Meghanadasya Samkhye Saumittris tivra-dandah pratiharana vidher=yah pratihara asit)*[3] The earliest dated inscription of

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1 ब्रह्मक्षत्रकुलीन प्रलीनसामन्तचक्रनुतचरण ।
सकलसुकृतैकपुञ्ज श्रीमान्मुञ्जश्चिर जयति ॥

Halayudha, *Pingala-Sutra Vrtti History of Rajputana*, 75 n 1

2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 10 Footnote.

3 *E I*, vol XVIII, pp 99 ff v 3.

the main Cahamana line is the Harsa stone inscription[1] of Vigraharaja dated A. D 973 It appears from this epigraphic record, as suggested by C V Vaida,[2] that the Cahamanas descended from the Sun [3] The Chalukyas of Gujarat share Common traditions with the Chalukays of Kalyani that their dynasties originated from Brahma's Chuluka and that their ancestors migrated from Ayodhya [4] It is clear from the Vadnagar Prasasti[5] of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumarapala, dated 1151 A. D. that the Chaulukyas of Gujarat believed that their ancestor was created from the Chuluka or the *water pot of* Brahma This Prasasti states thus .--

"Humbly asked by the gods for a protector against the insults of the sons of Danu, the creator, though about to perform the twilight worship, produced forthwith in his pot (Chuluka) filled with the holy water of Ganga, that hero named Chulukya who sanctified these three worlds with the floods of his fame . . .. From him sprang a race . . ... " which came to be known as Chaulukya At this time the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti also played an important part in the politics of Northern India The Chandellas trace their origin from the sage Chandratreya, who was born of the Moon The Batesvar Inscription[6] of Paramardi states, "From the eye-lotus of Atri was born the god (who is) the ornament of the beloved husband of the daughter of the lord of mountains From him sprang this race which has shone with its briget fame, as if (decorated) with pearls In it there were born, of pleasing conduct, the Chandratreya princes, whoby their

1 *Ibid*, vol II, p 119
2 *Rajputo Ka Prarambhika Itihas*, vol. II, p 21.
3 तन्मुत्तयर्थमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्ती स्वयम् ।
E I, vol p 122 v 19
4. A K Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p 5.
5 *E. I* V L I, pp 296-301, v 2,
6 *E I*, Vol I, pp 208-209 v 3-4
Ibid, p 138 v 8-12

powerful massive arms have cruched the host of enemies" Though the Batesvar and Vadnagar Inscriptions are of much later dates than that of the time of Padmaguptâ, there is every reason to believe, in absence of any other evidence to the contrary, that the founders of these ruling dynasties in the 9th and the 10th centuries A D traced their descents from the Moon and Brahma respctively So, it is clear, that before the close of the last quarter of the 10th century A D the Pratiharas, the Cahamanas,the Chauluakyas and the Chandellas, with the exception of the Paramaras, claimed their origins from some or the other mythical hero or god Padmagupta realised this important fact and in order to bring the Paramaravamsa of Malava in line with the other ruling dynasties of the time, imagined the Fire-origin of the Paramaras This idea received an imlicit recognition of his patron Sindhuraja Navasahasanka and was finally incorporated into the Navasahasanka Carita The lead, which was given by Padmagupta in this connection, was maintained by his contemporary as well as later poets at the Court of Dhara and Dhanapala, who composed his Tilakamanjari,[1] during the reign of Bhojadeva[2] refers to the Fire-Origin of the Paramaras Udayaditya, the Paramara ruler of Malwa also accorded approval to it by giving it proper place in his royal epigraphic record [3]

It may be pointed out that with the lapse of time the idea changed into a belief and then into tradition, which received its present form at the hands of the bard poet Chand Prithviraja Raso is the first work which records the origin not only of the Paramara but of the Chalukya, the Fratihara and the Chahamana from the Fire-pit of the sage Vasistha [4] The reason, why Chand twisted the story of the Fire-origin of the Paramaras in such a way as to include the Chalukyas, the Pratiharas and the

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1 Referred to in the *Prabandha Cintamani*, p 60,
2 *Ibid*, pp 60-61
3 *E I*, vol I, p 234
4 *A S I*, vol II (1871), p 255

Chahamanas with in its purview, appears to be mainly political. As it was a time when Prithviraja, the Chahamana ruler of Delhi and Ajmer was engaged in an arduous task of stemming the Turkish invasion of his mother-country, Chand Bardai, who enjoyed his patronage and was his friend[1] and a Court-poet considered it his important duty to foster a sense of National unity among different Ruling clans which were at logger heads with one another, by ascribing common Fire-origin to the Paramaras, the Pratiharas, the Chalukyas and the Chahamanas It is true that by this time the Pratiharas, the Paramaras and the Chalukyas had lost their Imperial positions, but their descendants still exercised political influence in the North-Indian Politics, a fact, which can be inferred from the evidence of the Prithviraja Raso [2] The reson why Chand selected only these four Royal families for the unique honour of being the Agnikulas is that, during the last four centuries i e between A D 800 and 1200 A D, these were the clans, which distinguished themselves by carving out empires for their respective ruling dynasties If this analysis of facts is not correct, what led Chanda to attribute Fire-origin to the Pratiharas, the Chaulukyas and the Chahamanas, which as early as the 9th and the 10th centuries A D claimed descents from Laksmana,[3] the Chaluka of Brahma[4]

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1 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II (Rajputs) p 18

2 रवि ससि जाधव वम । ककुत्स्थ परमार सदावर ॥
चाहुवान चालुक्क । छदक सिलार अभीयर ॥
दोय मत्त (दोयमत) मकवान । गरुअ गोहिल गोहिलपुत ॥
चापोत्कट परिहार । राव राठोर रोसजुत ॥
देवरा टाक सैंधव अनिग (अनग) । यौतिक प्रतिहार दधिषट् ॥
कारट्टपाल कोटपाल हुल । हरितट गोर कला (मा) ष मट ॥
धन (धान्य) पालक निकुभवर । राजपाल कविनीस ॥
कालच्छुरकै आदि दे । वरने वस छतीस ॥

Part I, p 54 History of Medieval Hindu India, v 2 p 22

3 *E I*, vol XVIII, pp 99 ff

4 *Ibid*, vol I, p 301.

and the Sun[1] respectivle. Cunningham points out that as late as A. D 1177 Chohans 'laid no claim to have sprung from fire ' [2] It is of interest to point out that the statement of Chanda, is not in conformity with the evidence of their epigraphic records, as none of their dynastic inscriptions refers to their Fire-origins

As Prithviraja Raso records an united attempt on the part of the Rajputas to protect the freedom of their country against the Muslimdomination, it had ever been popular among them and even today it is held in high esteem by the members of that warrior-caste. As the time passed, the misconception, that the Pratiharas, the Paramaras, the Chaulukyas and the Chahamanas were the Agnikulas, deepened and gradually the members of these families forgot their original descents and fell in line with the account of the Raso The misconception developed into a well established tradition and so it was quite natural for Tod to record it [3] Tod is the first modern historian, who on the basis of this tradition, propounded the theory of the foreign origin[4] of the four Agnikulas namely the Pretiharas, the Paramaras, the Chaulukyas and the Chahamanas

It may be pointed out that the theory of Agni-kula is so closely related with that of the theory of immigration that if the former stands discredited the other naturally falls to the ground We have tried to show in these pages that the theory of Fire-origin is nothing but a poetical imagination of Padmagupta, a fancy, which was expanded and was provided with a body by Chand Baradai and which ultimately took the place of a well-

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1 *Ibid*, vol II, p 122, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, vol II (Rajputs), p 14

2 *A S I*, vol II pp 253-254

3 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, (Popular Ed), pp 101-102, *A S I*, vol II, p 255

4 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Popular Ed), p 92

established tradition Further, it is proved that as none of the dynastic inscriptions of the Pratiharas, the Chaulukyas and the Chahamanas refers to their Fire-origin, these dynasties, were in no way related to the Paramaras V A Smith's view, which is entirely based upon the evidence of Chand's Prithiviraja Raso, that 'the four clans named are related'[1] is erroneous, D. C. Ganguly is much nearer to the truth when he says "The grouping of these three races under 'Agnikula' is nothing but a figment of imagination of the bards of the later ages"[2] If these three of the four families are admitted[3] not to be of the Fire-origin, where does the whole theory of foreign descent stand ? Crooke's observation, that the Agnikula-Myth 'represents a rite of purgation by fire, the scene of which was in Southern Rajputana, whereby the impurity of the foreigners was removed and they become fitted to enter the Hindu caste system'[4] also loses ground K M Munshi rightly observes, 'An examination of the earliest records of these races destroys the theory of immigration, as also the theory of these clans being converted to Hinduism under the shadow of Abu' [5]

D. R Bhandarkar is the first Indian historian, who started the theory of foreign-origin of the Paramaras In one of his papers[6] he has tried to prove that the Paramaras together with the Pratiharas, the Chaulukyas and the Chahamanas are Gurjars, who were a foreign tribe as they were allied to the Hunas The probelm, whether the Gurjaras, who are believed to have entered

1. *Early History of India*, p, 412.
2 *History of the Paramar Dynasty*, p 8 Footnote
3 Crooke, *Introduction to Tod's Rajasthan*, p XXXI, C V. Vaida, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, vol II, pp 14-15; K. M Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* Part III, p 15.
4 'Rajputs and Mahrattas' *(Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1911, p 42
5. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, p 15
6 'Foreign Elements in Hindu population', *I A*, v XL (1911) pp 21-25.

India in the fifth or sixth century A D with the Hunas or soon-after them were of a foreign stock or of an indigenous origin, is of a highly controversial nature and is still unsolved Besides Bhandarkar,[1] a number of western scholars[2] have come forward to prove that the Gurjaras were of a foreign descent and they poured into India with the nomadic Huna tribes None of the advocates of this view could explain 'the exact ethnic relation of the ' urjaras to the Hunas' In recent years some historians[3] have challanged this view and have suggested the Indian origin of the Gurjaras The main arguments, that are advanced by Bhandarkar and others in support of their views, are as follows :--

(a) The Gurjaras are identified with the Khazars on the basis of the evidence of similar endings [4]

(b) The Gurjaras[5] were always associated with the Hunas and therefore they entered India with[6] them

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1 D R Bhandarkar, article on 'Gurjaras', *J B B R A S*, vol XXI, pp 411 ff

2. V A Smith, *J R A S*, 1909, p 54, *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol I, Pt I, pp 471–478, *Early History of India*, p 412 Hoernle, *J R A S*, 1905, pp 1 ff, A M T Jackson, *J R A S* 1905 pp. 153-4, *Bom Gaz* vol I, Pt. I, App III, Buhler, *I A* vol XVII, p 192, Cunningham, *A. S R*, vol II, p 64, Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol IX, app B, Baines, *'Ethnography'* p 44, Forbes, *Rasa-Mala*, I, 40

3 G H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, vol I, pp 151, C V Vaidya, *History of Medieaval Hindu India*, vol I, p 83ff D C Ganguly, *I H Q*, vol X, pp 613 ff (Contra B Ghosh, *I C* vol I, pp 510 ff), Dasarath Sharma, *I H Q*, vol X, pp 582ff, D. R. Mankad, *ibid*, p 584, K M Munshi, *'The Glory that was Gurjaradesa'*, Part III pp 4 ff, B N. Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, P 6

4 *J B B R A S*, vol XXI, pp. 411 ff

5. *Ibid*, *I A*, vol XVII, p 192

6 *J R A S*, 1909, p 54, *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol I, pt I, pp. 471-478, *Early History of India*. p 412

(c) The Hunas along with the Gurjaras permanently settled in large numbers in Rajputana [1]

(d) The Gurjaras migrated to all parts of India They gradually moved from the Punjab to the South-east i e from the Indus to the Ganges and from the Hazara mountains to the Narmada They are still found in western Himalayas, in Kashmir, on the banks of upper Jamuna, in the Doab, in Bundelkhand, in the Narmada valley and Nagpur and also in South India The names Gujarat, Gujaranwala, Gurjrakhan in the Punjab, Gurjaragadh, one of the Northern districts of Gwalior, Gurjaratra in the ninth century, Gujarata and Gujarat (Saharnapur) in the eighteenth century are considered by these scholars to retain their connection with the word Gurjara and also mark the different stages in the movements of the foreign Gurjaras [2]

(c) The Rajore Stone Inscription of Mathanadeva,[3] which refers to this king as 'Gurjara-Pratiharanvaya,' an expression, from which it is inferred to, that his family name was Pratihara and his tribe name was Gurjara

It is none of our business to enter into a detailed discussion of this controversy here We propose to touch only the main points of the theory of indigenous origin of the Gurjaras, as propounded by Indian scholars in contradiction of the above view B N Puri contests the identification of the Gurjara with the Khazar on

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1 *J B B R. A S*, vol XXI p 405ff, *Early History of India*, p 412, *I A.* vol XVII, p 192

2 *J B B R A S*, vol XXI, p. 405 ff, Cunningham, *A S R.* vol II, pp 64, 71 and 72, Kennedy, *J R A S*, 1907, p 985, Baines, *Ethnography*, p 44, Buhler, *I A* vol XVII, p 192, *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, pt I, 481 ff

3 श्रीराज्यपुरावस्थितो महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमथनदेवो महाराजाधिराज श्रीसावटमूनुर्गुर्ज्जरप्रतिहारान्वय ... ... स्तथैवैतत्प्रत्यासन्न श्रीगुर्ज्जरवाहितसमस्तक्षेत्र समेतश्च ।
E I, vol III, p 266

the evidence of similar endings and is of the view that it is not correct as "in the former we have the form Jara and not Zar"[1] C V. Vaidya gives some more arguments to disprove this identification According to him, the Khazars never migrated and, moreover, there is diversity in the characters of the two peoples as 'while the Khizars are stationary in habits and traders by profession, the Gujars are of roving habits and cattle-grazers by profession'[2] According to these historians[3] the Gurjaras were an Indian tribe, which lived in the Gurjara country, a tract in modern Rajputana, which was known by this name (Gurjara) in the Seventh century A D and they were distinctly Aryan by features

The association of the Gurjaras with the Hunas and the belief that they entered India along with them in the latter part of the fifth century[4] A D is not a settled fact of history D C Ganguly's contention that, 'there is at present no disagreement among the scholars in regard to this'[5] is not correct Long before, the learned writer expressed this opinion, C V Vaidya proved it baseless[6] and his view is now endorsed by some other scholars [7] Even. D R Bhandarkar[8] and others could not

1 *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 2
2. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, p 10
3. B N Puri, "*The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 6, D C Ganguly, '*History of the Gurjara Country*', *I H Q*, vol X, p 613; K M Munshi, '*The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*', Part III, p 6, C V Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, p 10
4 *I H Q*, vol X (1934) p 337
5 *Ibid*
6 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, p 10
7. Dasarath Sharma, *I H Q*, vol X, p 582, B. N Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 3
8 *J B B R A S*, vol XXI, pp 411 ff, *J R A S*, 1905, pp 1 ff, *Early History of India*, p 412

give a sufficient proof of the ethnic relation of the Gurjaras with the Hunas C V Vaidya[1] rightly remarks that, 'it is admitted by even Smith that there is no historical evidence either of native tradition or foreign record to suggest, much less to prove, that the Gujars, came into India from outside about this time' Bhandarkar[2] has tried to prove the foreign-origin of the Gurjaras on the ground that they are mentioned together with the Hunas, a foreign tribe, but mere mentioning together is not sufficient to suggest affinity of race Bana in his Harsa-Carita,[3] while describing the conquests of Prabhakaravardhana refers to the Hunas and also the Gurjaras but only because of this, 'it would be absurd to argue that the Gujars were a foreign tribe allied to the Huns and came to India along with them'[4] Similarly the absence of the name Gujjara or Gurjara in the Mahabharata or in any other literary or epigraphic records before the Sixth century A D is not a conclusive evidence to prove their foreign origin [5]

There is almost no difference of opinion among scholars, belonging to both the schools of thought that the Gurjaras in large numbers permanently settled in Rajputana The Gurjara country, in the early mediaeval period, extended upto the river Sarasvati in the south and its northern limits lay beyond modern Jodhpur [6] Its western and eastern boundaries extended upto Didwana in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana and upto Rajore in the

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1 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, p 10

2 *I A* vol XL, (1911)

3 'हूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गूर्जरप्रजागरो'.........

Hirnaya Sagar Edn. 1937, 120.

4 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, pp 29-30 See also *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, pp 3-4, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part, III, p 8.

5 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, p 6, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 6

6 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, p 2

Alwar State respectively[1] Bhandarkar[2] is of the view that it was here in Rajputana that the foreign tribe of the Gurjaras was admitted to the Hindu society and it was under the predominating influence of Brahmanism that the foreign Gurjaras got themselves divided into four principal traditional hindu castes namely Gurjara Brahmanas, Gurjara Ksatriyas, Gurjara Vaisyas and Gurjara Sudras The correctness of the above view can properly be assessed, if we keep in mind the social status, which the other foreigners namely the Yavanas and the Sakas occupied on their admission to the Hindu society Panini's[3] sutra-Sudranam =Aniravasitanam with Patanjali's[4] commentary on it, helps us in this direction According to it, they were included in the ranks of the Sudras, who constituted the lowest of the four higher castes Following the same analogy, it can reasonably be argued that the Gurjaras, if foreigners, also swelled the number of Sudras Now the question arises as to how we get references to Gurjara Brahmanas,[5] when we do not find even an example of a Yavana Brahmana or a Saka Vaisya or a Huna Brahmana[6] The natural inference that can be drawn from this discussion is that the Gurjaras were not of foreign-stock. One thing, which deserves special mention in this connection, is that the military leaders or nobles of foreign tribes on coming to the Hindu fold received, as a matter of exception, a privileged treatment, as compared to their common kinsmen, because while the former were classed as Ksatriyas, the latter were included in the category of Sudras

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1 *I H Q*, vol X, p 613
2 *J B B R A S*, vol XXI, 405 ff
3 Panini's Sutra, II, 4 10
4. Kielhorn, *Mahabhasya*, vol I, p 475
5 *E I*, vol XXVII, pp. 209 ff
6. *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 4. The Magas, who are stated to be Magi priests of Persia (Bom Gazetteer, I pt II, App , 463) and who are settled at Srimala, constituts the only exception, when a foreign group has been given the status of Brahmanas

As Gurjara was the name of a country, as believed by several scholars,[1] it can very well be presumed that its inhabitants, the Gurjaras, who derived their nomenclature after the name of their homeland,[2] were divided into four conventional higher castes like other Hindus of Northern India It appears, that whenever the Gurjaras migrated to other parts of the country, they in order to maintain their individuality and also to distinguish themselves from the indigenous population over there, called themselves as such after the name of their homeland. If the residents of Saurastra, Lata, Malava, Gauda and Dravida were known by the respective names of their[3] homelands, what is wrong in it, if the inhabitants of the Gurjara country called themselves as Gurjara-Brahmanas,[4] Gurjara-Ksatriyas, Gurjara-Vaisyas and Gurjara-Sudras respectively in the countries of their adoption The facts that the Gurjaras are found in different parts of the country, even in the South, and that the names of certain places begin with the word Gujar or Gurjara cannot conclusively prove the theory of the stages of immigration To our mind, it appears that the residents of the Gurjaradesa were dynamic and adventurous people and places, associated with their name, point out to their immense colonizing spirit It may further be pointed out that many of such places, at one time or the other, were included with in the limits of the Gurjara country, as in the ninth century A D parts of Rajputana, Punjab and modern Gujarat were Gurjaradesa [5] K M. Munshi considers

1. K M Munshi *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* Part III, p 6 D. C. Ganguly, History of the Gurjara Country, *I. H. Q*, vol X, p 613 C V Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*. vol II, p. 31. See also *E I.*, vol XI, p 140, *Ibid*, vol. XVII, p 241, *Ibid* vol. XII, p 19.
2. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, p 6, *I H Q.*, vol X, p 613 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, p 31
3. *The glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, pp 6-7.
4. *E I*, vol XXVII, pp 209 ff.
5. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, p. 17.

them 'towns or fortresses built or occupied by persons who called themselves Gurjaras' [1] S Krishnaswamy Aiyangar states "I do believe that the immigration of the Gurjaras is not such a settled fact of history for deductive applications I submit that, in view of all evidence that has been forthcoming of recent years, the theory of immigration is unsustainable" [2]

One of the grounds on which the Pratiharas, and therefore also other Agnikula clans, are ascribed a foreign ancestory, is the expression "GurJara Pratiharanvayah", occuring in the Rajor Stone Inscription of Mathanadeva,[3] which is taken to mean Pratihara clan of the Gurjara tribe. But as the above expression is subject to a more reasonable interpretation, this epigraphic evidence, in no way, helps those who deny the indigenous origin of the Pratiharas C V Vaidya is one of the earliest Indian scholars, who gave a different meaning to the above expression, when he states "The phrase Gurjara Pratihara need not be interpreted to mean Pratiharas who were Gurjaras, but should be interpreted as Pratiharas of the Gurjara country" [4] D C Ganguly has now revised his opinion[5] and has fallen in line with C V Vaidya, along with Dasarath Sarma[6] and others, as he mentions "The expression Gurjara-Pratihara may very reasonably be taken to mean the Pratihara family of the Gurjara country" [7]

Thus having shown that the Gujars or Gurjaras were not a foreign tribe but were residents of the Gurjaradesa, the theory

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1 *Ibid*, p 6

2 Krishnaswamy Aiyangar quoted in R C Majumdar's "The Gurjara Pratiharas" in *Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta*, X, 3.

3 *E I*, vol III, p 266

4. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II (1924) footnote,p 32

5 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 7

6 *I H Q*, vol X, (1934), pp 582

7. *Ibid*, p 338

of foreign ancestory of the Paramaras, on that score, stands discredited Infact, D. R. Bhandarkar could not adduce any argument to prove Paramaras as Gujars and was led to observe in desperation that "We do not know to what stock the Paramaras belonged, though it is morally certain that they were of foreign extraction".[1] C V. Vaidya criticises the learned scholar for his moral views in determining the race of the people and observes that "There is no proof or argument to show that the Paramaras were Gujars or even foreigners".[2] D C. Ganguly also supports our contentions, when he says, "No authentic material has yet been discovered to prove a Gurjara origin of the Paramaras".[3] Watson,[4] Forbes,[5] J. Campbell[6] and Bhandarkar[7] have tried to sustain their theory of the Gurjara origin of the Paramaras on traditions, the interpretations of which are not only far-fetched but their historicity and time are also doubtful Even Watson is not sure of his stand, when he mentions, "Although the above traditions etc. are not sufficient grounds to assert positively that the Cavadas are a branch of the Paramaras, yet they seem to convey the possibility of this being the case".[8]

Having considered the question of the foreign origin of the Paramaras, we now proceed to determine to which of the four higher conventional castes of the Hindu society, they belonged

1. *I. A*, (1911), p 25.
2 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. II (1924), p. 35.
3. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 7.
4 *I A.*, vol IV, pp. 147, 148, *Bom Gaz*, vol I, Part I, p 138, footnote 1.
5 *Ras Mala*, vol I, p 34.
6 *Bom. Gaz*, vol IX, p. 485.
7. *J. B. B.* vol XXI, pp 428-29, Ibbetson, *Census of the Punjab*, p 268
8 *I. A*, vol. IV, p 148.

The Udayapur[1] Inscription of Udayaditya refers to Upendra-raja, the founder of the Paramara ruling house of Malwa as" "*dvijavargaratnam*" or a jewel among the twice-born In an orthodox sense the word "dvija" is taken to mean as only a Brahmana but some of our authoritative Smritis prescribe a wider application of the term The Yajnavalkya[2] and the Parasara[3] Smritis consider the members of the first three higher castes namely Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisayas as "Dvijah" An important point, which deserves attention is that there is a marked difference between the uses of this term in the official epigraphic records and the Smritis respectively, as in the former it has invariably been used in a restricted or an orthodox sense i e to denote only a Brahmana The Kanaswa Inscription of Sivagana dated V S 795 (=A D 738) mentions Sankuka, a brahmana prince with his lawful wife Degini sprung from a brahmana family "Degini namatasy=asid=dharmma-patni dvij-odbhava" [4] Similarly the Jodhpur Inscription of the Pratihara Bauka dated V S. 894 (=A D 837) refers to an illustrious Brahmana named Harichandra (*"Viprah Sri Harichandra"*), who married first the daughter of a Brahmana *"Tena Sri-Harichandrena pai inita dvij-atmaja"* [5] Again Harsha, the ruler of Chitrakuta is mentioned in the inscription of his great-grandson as a dvija i e Brahmana [6] It may be pointed out that when

1 'उपेन्द्रराजो द्विजवर्गरत्न सौ (शौ) र्य्यार्ज्जितोत्तुङ्गनृपत्व [मा] न ' ॥V.७॥
E I vol I, p 234

2 'मातुर्यदग्रे जायन्ते द्वितीय मौञ्जिबन्धनात् । ब्राह्मण क्षत्रियविशस्तस्मादेते द्विजा स्मृता , ॥३९॥ (आचाराध्याय)
Yajnavalkya Smriti, Translated in Hindi by Bhimasena Sarma, p 10

3 'प्रायश्चित्ते ततश्चीर्णे कुर्याद् ब्राह्मणभोजनम् । विप्राणा दक्षिणा दद्यात्पवित्राणि जपेद् द्विज ॥४१॥
Parasara Smriti, Translated in Hindi by Ramchandra Sarma p 125

4 *I A* vol XIX, p. 57

5 *E I* vol XVIII p 95 f v 7

6 The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p 110

ever the first three higher castes were to be mentioned in any royal grant or inscription, they are not referred to collectively by the use of the word "dvija", but each of the three castes is denoted separately The Ghatiyala [1] Pillar Inscription dated V S 918 (=A D 861) tells us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kakka, of the Pratihara race, constructed a market place and peopled it only with Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas forming the big folk In view of the above evidence, it may reasonably be presumed that Upendraraja was a Brahmana and the expression *"dvijavargaratnam"*, applied to him in the Udayapur[2] Prasasti, may be taken to mean "a jewel among Brahmanas".

Halayudha[3] in his Pingala-Sutra Vrtti describes his patron Munja Vakpatirajadeva, the Paramara ruler of Malwa, a *"Brahma-Ksatra Kulinah"* Befor an explanation of this expression is given, we want to refer to another expression *"Ksatropetadvijata yah"*[4] occuring in the Vayu Purana Scholars[5] are unanimous on this point that during the vedic times a number of Kshatriyas became Brahmanas and several such instances are recorded in the Vayu and other Puranas Conversion from one caste to the other was possible due to the flexibility of caste

1. 'विचित्रवीथियित्तपूर्णं हट्ट कृत्वागृहाणि च । विप्रवणिग्प्रकृतीना गृह गत्वा प्रियेण च ॥ श्रीमत्कक्कस्य पुत्त्रेण, सत्प्रतीहारजातिना । कक्कुकेन स्थिर्ति दत्वा स्थापितोत्त्र महाजन '

E I vol. IX, pp 280 ff

2 *E I* vol I, p 234.

3 'ब्रह्मक्षत्रकुलीन ...... श्रीमान्मुञ्जश्चिरं जयति'

Hist of Raj. I, 75, n 1.

4. *Vayu Purana*, Chapter 88.

5. C V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. II (1924) p 58.

system Giving[1] such an example, the Vayu Purana records that Mandhata,a Kshatriya king of the Solar race had three sons namely Purukutsa, Ambarisha and Muchakunda. Ambarisha's son and grandson were Yauvanasva and Harita respectively On becoming a Brahmana, the descendants of Harita also became Brahmanas with the Harita gotra and came to be known as Angirasa Harita, whom the Vayu calls, "*Ksatropetadvija tayah*" or[2] Brahmanas endowed with Kshatriya power

The phrase "*Brahma-Ksatra Kulinah*" as suggested by C V Vaidya,[3] means "Kahatriyas who were endowed with Brahma i. e who had kept up their connection with the Vedic Rishis". The veracity of this statement may be challanged mainly on two grounds Firstly, that by the time of Munja Vakpati II i e the last decade of the tenth century A D Kshatriyas had lost importance for their gotras, if they had not forgotten them, a fact which is accepted by Vaidya[4] himself Secondly, that their gotras are not indicatives of their progenerators but are that of the gotras of their Purohitas and sometimes with the change of Purohitas, their gotras too changed[5] We fail to understand how they could keep their contact with their Pravara Rishis, when they had not the gotras of their own The above expre-

1 तस्यामुत्पादयामास माधाता त्रीन्सुतान्प्रभु ॥७१॥
पुरुकुत्समम्बरीष मुचकुद च विश्रुतम् ।
अम्बरीपस्य दायादो युवनाश्वोऽपर स्मृत ॥७२॥
हरितो युवनाश्वस्य हारिता शूरय स्मृता ।
एते ह्यङ्गिरस पुत्रा क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातय ॥७३॥

Vayu Purana, Chapter 88

2 C V Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, (1924) p 59

3 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, (1924) p 62

4. *Ibid*, p 61

5 'क्षत्रियो के गोत्र', नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका (नवीन सस्करण) भाग ५–अक ४ p 443.

Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha,

ssion is also explained "First a Brahmana then a Kshatriya,"[1] an explanation, which is equally unacceptable It is true that many Kshatriyas became Brahmanas, as stated earlier, but no where it is mentioned in the Puranas that the former are the descendants of the latter The expression, infact, has been correctly explained by K M Munshi as, "descended from a Brahmana who had taken to arms" [2] The conclusion, that can reasonably be drawn from this discussion is, that Munja Vakpatirajadeva, his ancestors and his descendants, were Brahmanas. As the two terms," "*Ksatropetadvijatayah*" and "*Bahma-Ksatra Kulinah*" carry almost the same sense, it is possible that the Paramaras belonged to that stock of Brahmanas, who though originally Kshatriyas, had become Brahmanas during the vedic age

Brahmanas who constituted the highest caste in the Hindu society were known in the Early Mediaeval period of Indian History by their Gotras and Sakhas A number[3] of Paramara royal grants record Brahmana donees having Atreya, Kausika, Agasti and Vasishtha gotras and belonged to Bahavracha, Madhyandina, Bahavracha Asvalayana and Vajimadhyandina Sakhas respectively It appears that a reference to a Sakha could be dispensed with and its citation was not so important as that of a *gotra* or *pravara* in case of a Brahmana The Harsola Plate of the Paramara Siyuka records the grant of villages to the Brahmanas, whose Sakha has not been referred to, and who belonged to the Gopali-gotra, owning three rishis as the pravaras of their gotra "*Tryarsheyaya Gopali-Sagottraya*" [4]

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1 'आदौ ब्राह्मण पश्चत्क्षत्रिय'
History of Mediaeval Hindu India, vol II, (1924) p. 62

2 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, pp 19-20

3 Ramesvara Ojha, 'Hindustani' oct 1931, pp 494-515, *E I* vol 18, pp 320-324, *I A* vol VI, pp 49-54, *E I* vol XI pp 182–183

4 *E I* vol XIX, p 243

The Udayapur Prasasti does not make the slightest reference to the gotra of the Paramaras, though C. V. Vaidya[1] finds a reference to it therein. But another Paramara record, namely the Patanarayana[2] templein scription dated V S. 1344 (=A D 1287) informs us that they were of the Vasishtha gotra It is of interest to point out that even today the Paramaras all over India have the same gotra, a fact which further goes to prove their Brahmana ancestory If they are Rajputs or Kshatriyas, as is commonly believed, instead of the Vasishtha gotra some other gotra or gotras of their Purohitas would have come down to us

The Brahmanas claimed ancient Rishis as Pravaras of their gotras and it is clear from several grants of Paramara Bhojadeva[3] and others[4] that in relation to certain gotras the practice was to mention three Pravaras But there are other gotras, in relation to which, we find the mention of only one Pravara [5] It may be pointed out that the gotra Rishi is generally found to be one of the Pravara Rishis as we see in the Atreya, Kausika and Bharadvaja gotras [6] There is evidence

1 *History of Mediaeval Hindn India*, vol II, (1924) p 50

2. 'वसिप्ठ-गोत्रोद्भव एप लोके ख्यातस्तदादौ परमारवश ' ।
"आनीतधेन्वे परनिर्जयेन मुनि स्वगोत्र परमारजातिम् ।"
I A vol 45, p 77

3 आत्रेय सगोत्राय । आत्रेयार्च्चनानमस्यावाश्वेति त्रिप्रवराय
'Hindustani', oct 1931, p 494-515
कौशिक सगोत्राय । अघमर्षण विश्वामित्र कौशिके त्रिप्रवराय
E I. vol 18, pp. 320-324
अगस्तिगोत्राय । त्रिप्रवराय
I A vol. VI, pp. 49-54

4. *E I.* vol XII, pp 155 ff, *I A*, vol. XVI, pp. 202 ff.

5 *E I.* vol XI, pp 182-183

6. *I A*, XVI, pp. 202 ff

to show that Brahmanas, belonging to the Vasishtha gotra had only one Pravara[1] and as the Paramaras were of the same gotra, the natural inference that can be drawn is that they too had only one Pravara C V. Vaidya's[2] view, that the Paramaras have three Pravaras in relation to their gotra, is incorrect We further think that the one Pravara, which the Paramaras had in relation to their gotra, could be none else but the gotra Rishi Vasishtha

We now take up another question namely the original home of the Paramaras D. C Ganguly,[3] on the basis of the Harsola grant[4] and of the A' in-I-Akbari,[5] formerly stressed that the Paramaras came from the Deccan. Later her evised his on, as he remarked "It is generally assumed that the original home of the Paramaras was Mount Abu, in the Sirohi State, Rajputana' [6] V. A. Smith[7] and C. V Vaidya[8] are also of the view that Mount Abu was their original home, from where they migrated to Malwa and established a kingdom of their own. Before we look into this view, it may be pointed out that Tod considers *Maheswar* as" the first seat of Government of the Paramaras" from where they subsequently came to eastern Malwa and founded Dharanagar and Mandoo.[9] As there is no corro-

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1 ब्राह्मणमाइल्लाय वामनसुताय वशिष्ठसगोत्राय
वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखायैकप्रवराय

E. I. vol XI, p. 183

2. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, (1924) p 50.

3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 9.

4. *E. I.* vol. XIX, p. 237.

5. Translated by H S Jarrett, vol. II, (1891) pp 215 ff.

6. The Age of Imperial Kanauj, pp 93 ff.

7 *The Early History of India*, pp. 395 ff.

8 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, (1924) pp. 117 ff.

9. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, (The Popular Edition) pp 98 ff.

borative evidence in favour of the above view, we do not want to pursue this suggestion further. The basis for the assumption, that the Paramaras originally resided on Mount Abu or the regions round about it, is the account of Padmagupta in his work Navasahasanka-Carita, [1] as regards the origin of the Paramaras, a story which also finds place in the later epigraphic records of the Paramaras [2] In view of this unrebuttable evidence, it will be reasonable to hold that Mount Abu was the original home of the Paramaras [3]

1 *I A.* vol XXXVI, p. 162.
2 *E I* vol I, p 234.
3. G H Ojha, *Rajputane-ka-Itihas*, vol I, p 191; *Muhnot-Nainsiki-Khyat*, vol I, p 234

CHAPTER TWO

The Triangular Contest and the beginning of the Paramara Power in Malwa

The political unity of Northern India, which was lost on the death of emperor Harsa of Thaneswar, was regained a few centuries later with the establishment of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire of Kanauj. The period of political instability and unrest, which followed the death of Harsa ended with the accession of Mihira Bhoja to the Imperial throne of Kanauj During the eighth and ninth centuries A D Northern India was a pawn in the game of political rivalaries and a prey to political ambitions and aggrandiement of the two powerful ruling dynasties of the time, namely the Palas of Bengal and the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta. Of these two the former were definitely less aggressive than the latter, though the Pala empire under its emperor Dharmapala comprised in its limits the entire territory extending from Bengal in the east to the Punjab in the west Kanauj, which later on acquired the fame of being the political pivot of the North under the Pratihara emperors, was at this time under the sway of the Palas of Bengal and Dharmapala's feudatory Cakrayudha was its ruler [1] Dharmapala and his protege Cakrayudha had a bitter-taste of the might of the Rastrakuta arms, when Govinda III, in course of his Digvijaya of the Northern countries humbled their pride and compelled them to accept his supremacy [2]

A perusal of the history of Northern India between A D. 725 and 836 clearly shows that Palas of Bengal and Rastrakutas of

1 *Banglar Ithas*, vol I, pp 191 ff (II Edition)

2 *E I*, vol V, p 23

the South were the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of laying the foundations of a new empire in Mid-India Nagabhata I, who possibly belonged "to a branch of the royal Pratihara family of Bhillamala",[1] though R C Majumdar[2] finds nothing certain about his ancestory and to whose lot fell the task of carving out an independent kingdom for his family, which ultimately became a nucleus for the growth of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire of Kanauj, appears to be a man of political-insight, who correctly assessed the prevailing politicalsituation. He did not act like a child,[3] who burnt his finger by putting it greedily in the middle of the dish, but started his political career with a fight against the invading army of the Arabs, which he "flung back, destroyed[4] it" Having liberated western India including Saurashtra, Bhillamala and Ujjayini[5] from the Muslims, an achievement to which the Gwalior Inscription[6] possibly refers to, he consolidated his hold over those regions including the southern Gurjara kingdom of Nandipuri[7] The old Pratihara dynasty of Harichandra, though continued to rule at Jodhpur in Rajputana, also possibly acknowledged his supremacy[8] Nagabhata's glorious service to the cause of his mother-land brought his family not only into political prominence in the second quarter of the eighth century A D but also awarded "the supremacy and leadership of the Gurjara-confederacy"[9] to him and his descendants, which was so long monoplised by the House of Harichandra

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1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj,* Foreword, p IX

2. *Ibid*, p 20

3 *Mahavamsa Tika* p 123, app I, *Parisishtaparvan,* VIII, 291-301

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Foreword, IX.

5 *Ibid*

6 *E I*, vol XVIII, p 99

7. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 19.

8 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 19.

9. *Ibid*, p 20.

It is evident that the political situation of India was so deplorable in the first half of the eighth century A. D and the country had lost the idea of political unity so badly that the foundations of no less than three empires namaly that of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj, the Rastrakutas of the Deccan and the Palas of Bengal were laid during this period In the beginning the struggle for establishing supremacy in Northern India was primarily a dual one i e. between the Gurjaras and the Rastrakutas, which with the accession of Dharmapala to the throne of Bengal developed into a triangular contest in the last quarter of the eighth century A D [1] This Imperial contest, which became the predominating note of the North Indian politics for more than a century to come, proved ultimately to be a suicidal one and paved the way for the decline of each of the participating empires As the Rastrakuta kingdom lay" immediately to the South of Malwa",[2] the Gurjaras were the first to bear the brunt of the attack of the Rastrakuta arms as a result of the aggressive expansionist policy pursued by Dantidurga, the founder of the Rastrakuta empire A S Altekar[3] believesthat while Dantidurga inaugurated his military campaign in western India with the annexation of the Gurjara kingdom of Nandipuri, R C Majumdar[4] differs and is of the view that there had been no permanent conquest on the part of the Victor It appears that having secured a foothold in lata and Sindh,[5] Dantidurga successfully executed his grand plan of the conquest of Malwa There is evidence to show that in commemoration of his victory[6] when he "performed the Hiranyagarbha mahadana ceremony at Ujjayini, he was waited

1 *Ibid*, p 23

2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 20

3. *Ibid* p 2

4 *Ibid* p 20

5 *Ibid*

6 *Ibid*, p 2.

upon by'kings led by the king of Gurjaradesa".[1] There is difference of opinion among scholars about the exact date of this event While Altekar considers it not later than A. D. 750,[2] K M. Munshi puts it in the year 754 A D [3] It can not be denied that the discomfiture of the Gurjara king or the king of Gurjaradesa at the hands of Dantidurga was final and complete, as the latter even occupied the palace of the former [4] D C Ganguly,[5] R C. Majumdar[6] and K M Munshi[7] think that the vanquished Gurjara ruler was none other than Nagabhata I If Altekar[8] is to be believed Nagabhata I lost the major portion of his kingdom to the Rastrakuta conqueror, a view, which is not acceptable to Majumdar who states," In any case there are good reasons to believe that inspite of initial discomfiture Nagabhata was able to leave to his successors a powerful principality comprising Malwa and parts of Rajputana and Gujarat [9] Nagabhata I, who ascended the throne probably in A D 725[10] or 730[11] ruled probably till A D 756[12] or 760.[13]

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1. 'हिरण्यगर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जयन्यां यदासितम् । प्रतिहारीकृत येन गुर्जरेशादिराजकम् ॥ *E I*, vol XVIII, pp 243-257 v 9, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* Part III, p 9
2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 2
3 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, p 9,
4 'यस्याश्वण्डितविक्रमस्य कटकेनाक्रम्य तीरक्षितिम् ।
   सौधेऽस्मिन्कृतगुर्जरेन्द्ररुचिरे ॥'
   E I, vol VII, app 13
5 *History of Paramara Dynasty*, p 11.
6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 20
7. *Ibid*, Foreward, IX
8 *Ibid*, p 2
9 *Ibid*, p 21.
10 *J Dep. L*, vol X, p 26
11 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 20, B N Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, P 36.
12 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 20.
13 *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 38.

On the death of Nagabhata I, his nephews Kakkuka or Kakutstha and Devaraja (Devasakti) succeeded him, of whom we practically know nothing Kakkuka, the elder brother ruled for a short time and on his death, Devaraja, his younger brother came to the throne Both these, brothers, it appears, ruled between A D. 756 and 778 as we find Devaraja's son and successor Vatsaraja, if his identification with the Ranahastin Vatsaraja[1] is correct, was ruling at Javalipura (modern Jalor) in the year 700 (=A D 778), when the author of a Jain work, Kuvalayamala composed this work Another Jain work Harivamsa, which was completed by its author Jinasena at Vardhamanapura in the year 705 (=A D 783) shows that Vatsaraja was ruling at Avanti in that year) *Purvvam Srimad=Avanti-bhubhritinripe Vatsadiraje-param=Sauranam adhimandale (lam) jaya-yute vire Varahe=Vati* [2] On the basis of the evidence of these two Jain works it may be stated that the kingdom of Vatsaraja comprised of both Malwa and eastern Rajputana Daulatpura[3] Plate of the (Pratihara) Maharaja Bhojadeva (I) surnamed Prabhasa dated V S 900, which refers to the revival of a grant in its original proportions by Maharaja Bhojadeva, which had been made by the king's great-grandfather, Maharaja-Vatsaraja and the Osia Jaina temple Inscription[4] dated V S 1013, which mentions that in the heart of the city of Ukesa i e Osia in the kingdom of Vatsaraja stood the temple of Mahavira, prove that Vatsaraja ruled over Central Rajputana Vatsaraja's political horizon was not confined to western India but it had with in its perview the establishment of a North India Empire, an ideal in realisation of which he attained a good degree of success As stated by Altekar[5] and

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1 *A B O R I*, XVIII, 397-8, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* p 21

2 *I A*, vol XV, p 141, *Bom Gaz*, vol I, Part II, p 197, footnote 2, *J Dep L*,, vol X, p 23 ff *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 21.

3. *E I*, vol. V, p 211

4 *A. S I*, 1908-9,p 108, *J R A S* 1907, p 1010

5 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 4.

Majumdar,[1] the Palas of Bengal had the same object in view In the race for the conquest of Kanauj Vatsaraja stole a march over Dharmapala, an act, which hurt the vanity and prestige of the Pala emperor, who decided to measure strength with his Gurjara adversary and marched into the Doab Radhanpur[2] and Wani[3] grants of the Rastrakuta emperor Govinda III throw sufficient light upon the result of this contest, which refer to the defeat of the Lord of Gauda, who was probably Dharmapala, at the hands of Vatsaraja, who also carried away the two Gauda umbrellas of State This reverse, however, did not break the backbone of the Pala empire and Dharmapala soon rallied his forces and advanced towards the Doab to give a fresh battle to the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler, who was equally prepared to meet this threat At a time when these two North-Indian powers were engaged in a deadly conflict for establishing their own hegemony over North India, Dhruva, the reigning Rastrakuta emperor took complete advantage of the Political situation in the North and decided to march on his Northern expedition in A D 786[4] To fight successfully on two fronts against the powerful armies of Bengal and Manyakheta was almost beyond the strength of the Gurjara army, with the result that Dhruva occupied Malwa with comfortable ease, as the main army of vatsaraja was concentrated against Dharmapala in the Doab The victorious Rastrakuta army did not stop there but it advanced towards Kanauj, possibly, with the two-fold object of occupying that Imperial city and to strike a final blow against the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler Altekar suggests that the two armies fought somewhere near Jhansi[5] and it is clear from the Rastrakuta records[6] that the invader from the South achieved such a signal victory over

1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 23
2 *E I*, vol VI, p 248
3 *I A*, vol XI, p 157
4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 5
5. *Ibid*
6. *E I*, vol VI, p. 248, *I A*, vol. XI, p 157.

Vatsaraja that the latter had to run for his life into the tractless sandy deserts of Rajputana This victory whetted Dhruva's appetite for further conquests and he decided to settle accounts with Dharmapala as well The Sanjan Plates[1] of Amoghavarsa and the Baroda[2] Plates of Karkaraja bear a testimony to the fact that Dharmapala suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Rastrakuta emperor, who "snatched away the royal umbrella parasols of the king of Gauda, as he was fleeing between the Ganga and the Jamuna". The victor, in commemoration of his occupation of the territory between the Ganga and Yamuna and of his short stay on the banks of the holy rivers, incorporated the emblems of the two main rivers in his imperial insignia

Dhruva by inflicting defeats upon Vatsaraja and Dharmapala had raised himself to the position of a paramount sovereign and at that time there was no power in India who could successfully challangehis supremacy Dharmapala, though humbled was not a broken man His power was intact and he was still in a position to prosecute his policy of territorial aggrandisement in Northern India In fact, the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler had to pay a terrible price for his defeat His absence from Kanauj and Dhruva's[3] return to the South in A D 790 offered a golden opportunity to the Pala emperor to satisfy his military ambitions freely and fearlessly Taking full advantage of the situation, Dharmapala defeated Indrayudha,[4] who was probably king of Kanauj[5] and a vassal of Vatsaraja,[6] and installed his protege Chakrayudha on the throne of Kanauj To celebrate this memorable event, Dharmapala held a durbar at Kanauj, which was attended by a number of North-Indian vassal chiefs including the ruler

1 *E. I*, vol VIII, 244
2 *I A.* Vol, XII, p 163
3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 5
4 *E I*, vol IV, p 243
5 R S Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p 213
6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* pp 4, 23.

of Avanti [1] Who was this ruler of Avanti ? As Vatsaraja passes out completely in oblivion after his defeat at the hands of Dhruva, we think that the ruler of Avanti, who along with others" "bowed down respectfully with their diadems trembling" before the Pala emperor Dharmapala was possibly Nagabhata II, the son and successor of Vatsaraja Had Vatsaraja accepted the v assalage of Dharmapala, his name would have been specifically mentioned in the Khalimpur[2] Copper plate of the year 32 of Dharmapala, as the "Lord of Gauda"[3] would not have forgotten so soon the humiliation of defeat to which he was put by the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler On the basis of this contemporary epigraphic evidence[4] it can reasonably be said that atleast for sometime Dharmapala brought under his sovereign sway almost the whole of Northern India

Nagabhata II, who ascended the throne near about A. D 808,[5] was certainly a great warrior He restored the fallen fortunes of his family, a fact which is clear from the Gwalior Inscription of his grandson Mihira Bhoja Nagabhata's date of accession to the throne may roughly be fixed in A D. 800 or 802, if his identification with the ruler of Avanti,[7] as suggested by us, is taken to be correct. Dhruva's military campaigns in Northern India left Malwa and Northern Gujarat in a chaotic condition and it appears that that state of affairs continued throughout the last decade of the 8th century A. D. During this confusion, it appears Indra, the Rastrakuta ruler of Lata occupied the hill-forts of Malava and Anartta, which wereforcibly seized and recoverd by

1. *E .I* vol IV, p. 243.
2 *Ibid,*
3 *Ibid,* vol VI, pp 242 ff ,
4 *E I* vol IV, p 243, R S Tripathi, *History of Kanauj,* pp 216, 230
5. *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p. 42 Footnote, 5
6. *E I*. vol. XVIII, p 99.
7. *E I*, vol IV, p 243

Nagabhata II, as is evident from the Gwalior Prasasti *(Anartta-Malava-Kirata - Turuska - Vatsa-Matsya-adi-rajagiri-durga-hathapa - haraih)* [1] This naturally precipitated a war with the Rastrakutas, a fact which can be inferred from the records of the belligerants [2] R C Majumdar thinks "that no party gained a decisive victory, though Nagabhata probably retained some of the captured hill forts" [3]

As Nagabhata II inherited a small principality,[4] his military resources would have been meagre enough as not to allow him to wage a war against the Pala emperor Dharmapala at the time of his accession Thinking that Prudence was the better part of valour, he took recourse to diplomacy and attended the durbar at Kanauj as one of the vassal-chiefs of Dharmapala [5] Having thus protected himself from the East, he advanced towards North Gujarat and Malwa, which involved him into a conflict with the Rastrakuta ruler of Lata, who was the Viceroy of the Rastrakuta emperor Govinda III [6] Indra and his son Karkka,[7] though, effectively gaurded the northern frontier, Govinda III, it appears, was not at all happy at the news of the Pala-Pratihara alliance and with a view to break it he made preparations to invade the North Besides this Govinda III who was in no way less ambitious than his father to go on a *Digvijaya* of the Northern countries "con quered Malwa, having followed the course of the Narmada"[8] and proceeded further via Bhopal and Jhansi,[9] keeping the conquest of Kanauj as his ultimate objective Nagabhata came

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1. *Ibid* vol XVIII, p 99
2. Baroda Plate, *I A*, vol XII, p 163, Sisavai Grant, v 15, *E I* vol XXIII, p 209, *E I*, vol IX, p 1
3. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 25
4. *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 42.
5. *E I*, vol IV, p 243
6. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 7
7. Baroda Pl *I A* vol XII, p 163
8. *E I*, vol XVIII, p 235
9. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 7,

forward to meet the invader Altekar thinks that the battle was fought somewhere in Bundelkhand.[1] The Rastrakuta emperor achieved a resounding victory over his adversary The Sanjan plate of Amoghavarsa refers to Govinda III, who "carried away in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nagabhata and Candragupta" [2] Nagabhata, "the Lord of Malava" who was well "versed in policy"[3] "inorder to receive favourable terms of peace from Govinda III and "Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at his feet .. .bowed to him from a far with folded hands" Govinda III in the spirit of a true Digvijayi accepted his submission, "and afterwards reinstated"[4] him in his own place Puffed up with this sensational victory, the Rastrakuta emperor advanced towards Kanauj but Dharmapala and Chakrayudha, possibly realising the futility of opposition surrendered to him of their own accord *(Svayam=ev=opanatau ca yasyc mahatas=tau Dharma-Cakrayudhau)*.[5] We agree wito R C Majumdar, when he thinks that Govinda III achieved his victory over Nagabhata II before A D 809-10,[6] though Altekar, who now holds a different view, suggests that Govinda's conquests were achieved before A D 802, most probably in A D 800 [7]

It appears, that though Nagabhata II suffered a reverse at the hands of Govinda III, his power was not completely destroyed and he still ruled over his dominions with all imperial glory [8] Nagabhata's acceptance of the Rastrakuta supremacy was merely nominal and was his diplomatic move to get time for

1. *Ibid*
2 *E I*, vol XVIII, p 235
3 Radhanpur Pl *E I* vol VI, p 248, v 16
4 *E I*. vol. XVIII, v 22, p 235
5 Sanjan C P., v 23, *E I* vol. XVIII, p 245.
6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 27
7. *Ibid*, p 8
8 *E I.*, vol. IX, p 198

the reorganisation of his military resources so that he might execute his future imperial designs No sooner the invader from the South turned his back and was on his return journey home,[1] it appears that Nagabhata threw off his allegiance of the Rastrakutas, with the result that Govinda III had to change his policy regarding Malwa and some other states. The policy of conciliation changed into that of annexation and Malwa along with Kosala and others was placed by him under the charge of his servants' [2] On the basis of the above[3] epigraphic evidence it can be suggested that Malava formed a part of the Rastrakuta empire sometime after A D. 808

It can not be denied that the loss of Malwa gave a serious set back to the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler and to his imperial ambitions, but Nagabhata II did not lose heart and thought of reconquering the kingdom of Kanauj He at first defeated Chakrayudha, the protege of Dharmapala, who was on the throne of Kanauj and conquered his kingdom [4] Chakrayudha's defeat was definitely a serious challange to the power and prestige of Dharmapala and both sides prepared themselves for the final battle R C Majumdar[5] and D C Ganguly[6] rightly think that at the time of this momentous struggle, Nagabhata II organised a confederacy against Dharmapala, which was joined by atleast three of his feudatory chiefs namely Kakka from Jodhpur,[7] Vahukadhavala from Kathiawar[8] and the Guhilot Sankaragana,[9] and which scored a victory over the Pala monarch at the famous

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1, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 7.
2 Sanjan C P, v 24, *E I* vol. XVIII, p 245
3 *E I*, vol VI, p 248 808 A D, Radhanpur Pl dated Saka 730 (Ex),=Sanjana C P dated 871 A D, *E I*, vol XVIII, p 245
4 The Barah C P, *E I*, vol XIX, p 15
5 *J Dep L*, vol X, p 40, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 25
6 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 17 footnote 1
7 *E I*, vol XVIII, p 87
8 *Ibid*, vol. IX, p. 1
9 *Ibid*, vol XII, p 13

battle at Mudgagiri (Monghyr),[1] a possible reference to which is also found in the Gwalior Inscription [2] As the Baroda Plate of Karkaraja[3] records the defeat of "the Lord of Gauda and the lord of Vanga" at the hands of the "Lord of the Gurjaras", it can reasonably be suggested that the allies achieved their success sometime before 812-13 A D [4] Another important result of this battle was that the centre of political gravity in Northern India shifted from Bengal to Kanauj and the latter was henceforth destined to become the 'imperial metropolis of Hindustan' under the Gurjara-Pratihara emperors

It appears that being puffed[5] up with his sensational victory over Dharmapala, Nagabhata II made another attempt to recover his lost dominion of Malwa and he achieved some success over the Malava Chief It further appears that in the battle, which ensued, the king of Malava was "struck down"[6] and if Govinda III would not have readily come to the rescue of his feudatory, Malava would have been lost to the Rastrakuta empire Nagabhata's attempt having proved abortive, Govinda III took necessary measures "for the purpose of protecting (the king of) Malava"[7] against future incursions of the Gurjaras Karkaraja, the Rastrakuta ruler of Lata was entrusted with this onerous task We agree with D C Ganguly when he says", "From all these facts it can safely be asserted that between the years" 808 and 812 A D , the Gurjara-Pratiharas were expelled from Malava and its sovereignty was assumed by a new ruling chief, as a vassal

1 *E. I* vol XVIII, p 87, *J. Dep L*, vol X, p 40

2 *E I* vol XVIII, p 99

3 *I A* vol XII, p 163

4 *I A.* vol XII, p 163

5 *I A*, vol XII, p 163

6 *Ibid*

7. *Ibid*

of the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta".[1] There is no definite evidence to prove that this subordinate chief was Upendra,[2] the founder of the Paramara ruling dynasty of Malwa, though there is a strong presumption for such an identification D C. Ganguly suggests[3] this identification on the basis of the evidence of the Harsola grant of Siyaka II[4] and of the A' in-i-Akbari[5] But as we hold that the Paramaras were Brahmanas, the expression "*Tasmin Kule*"[6] in the above grant should not strictly be construed to mean that they descended from the Royal family of the Rastrakutas, specially in the absence of any corroboratory evidence A more reasonable interpretation would be that Siyaka II was a feudatory of the Rastrakuta P M P Akalavarsha (=Krishna III) The A' in-i-Akbari, which is a much later record, does not give the slightest indication of the Rastrakuta lineage of the Paramaras It mentions that the Ponwar (Paramara) hero who "established his seat of government at Malwah" (Malwa) came "from the Deccan"[7] A study of the epigraphic records of Siyaka II, Vakpatiraja II and Bhojadeva shows that Brahmanas had not lost that mobile or adventurous spirit, which made them to cover long distances from different parts and directions of the country in search of fresh fields and pastures new Brahmanas, who were originally inhabitants of Anandapura[8] (Modern Vadnagar, in the Maharastra State), Ahicchatra[9] (Modern Adikot near Ramnagar in Bareilly district), Manyakheta[10] (Modern Malkhed,

1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 18
2 *E I*, vol I, p 225
3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 18
4. *E I* vol XIX, p 237
5 A'in-i-Akbari Trans , by Jarrett, vol. II, pp 214-215
6. *E I* vol XIX, p 237
7 *A'in-i-Akbari*, Trans., by Jarrett, vol II, pp. 214-215
8 *E I* vol XIX, p 236
9 *I A* vol VI, p 51
10 Rameswar Ojha, '*Hindustani*' Oct 1931, pp 494-515

in the former Nizam's dominions), Sthanvisvara[1] (Modern Thanesar, in the Karnal District of Panjab) and Srivada[2] in Karnata, emigrated to Ujjain and Dhara to receive grants or gifts at the hands of their royal patrons It can be argued that as this spirit continued to be a living force in them even before the 10th century A D, it appears that Upendra, who was probably a prominent member of the Brahmana aristocracy at Manyakheta, followed his sovereign the Rastrakuta Govinda III, during the latter's military expedition to the North, and was awarded with the government of Malwa in return for his valuable military service This not only explains the evidence of the A'in-i-Akbari but also justifies the statement of the Udayapur Prasasti, which states that Upendra "gained the high honour of kingship by his valour".[3] Another factor, which favours this identification is the coincidence of the period in which Upendra is supposed to have assumed kingship of Malwa, with that, in which that country changed its masters from the Gurjara-Pratiharas to the Rastrakutas between A D 808 and 812.

1 *E I.* vol XVIII, p 320.
2 *I A*, vol. VI, p. 53.
3. *E I*, vol. I, p. 237, v. 7.

CHAPTER THREE

Growth of the Paramara power

(Upendra to Vairisimha II)

There has been much controversy about the time of the foundation of the Paramara ruling house of Malwa, a problem, which at long last is now almost settled. There had been two distinct schools of thought in this respect, one led by Buhler[1] and the other by C V Vaidya [2] The rise of the Paramaras of Malwa is ruled out before the Ninth century A D ,[3] a view, which is commonly accepted and therefore deserves no further consideration The main-stay of Buhler's opinion, that Upendra came to the throne of Malwa shortly after 800 A D ,[4] is the Udayapur Prasasti of Udayaditya,[5] a Paramara royal record of about the eleventh century A D The importance of this inscription lies in the fact, that it is the only available record, which gives us a complete genealogy of the Paramara royal house of Malwa from Upendra to Bhoja and as such its immense value for the reconstruction of the early history of the Paramaras of this family may not be doubted The earliest Paramara ruler for whom we have the definite dates is, Siyaka II The evidence of the Harsola[6] and Ahmedabad[7] grants dated V S 1005 and 1026 respectively, together with Dhanapala's Paialacchi-namamala[8]

1 *E I*, vol I, p 225
2 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. II, p 119
3 *Ibid*, p 118
4 *E I*, vol I, p 225.
5 *Ibid*, vol I. p 234.
6. *Ibid*, vol XIX p 236.
7. *E I*, vol XIX, p 177.
8. Paialacchi-namamala, v 198, Ed by. Buhler Paiyalacchi, Intro , p 6, vs 276, 277, 278

dated V. S 1029 help us to think that sometime before January, 949 A D Siyaka II ascended the throne of Malwa In the Udayapur Prasasti Upendra is the sixth in the lineal ascent from Siyaka II and if we assign a moderate period of twenty-five years to each reign the former's accession may reasonably be presumed to have taken place some time in the first quarter of the Ninth century[1] A D

C V. Vaidya,[2] Altekar[3] and K A Nilakanta Sastri[4] do not agree with the above view and hold that the Paramara royal house of Malwa was founded early in the tenth century A D. The fact, which has led to this difference of opinion, is that these scholars do not accept the genealogy in verbatim as is given in the Udayapur Prasasti and prefer to rely upon the evidence of the two land grants[5] of Vakpati-Munja for determining the early history of this family, where the pedigree is referred to as Krsnaraja, Vairisimha, Siyaka and Vakpati The Udayapur Prasasti refers to Upendra as the first ruler and puts Vairisimha I, Siyaka I and Vakpati I before Vairisimha, with the result that Vakpati-Munja, who is the seventh ruler indescent from Upendra in this epigraphic record, becomes the fourth in descent from Krsnaraja in his own land-grants C V Vaidya[6] considers Vairisimha I, Siyaka I and Vakpati I as imaginary kings and thinks that these names in the Udayapur Prasasti are fictitious and a mere reduplication of names with a view, "to carry back the genealogy

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1 Several scholars hold this view [Buhler, *E I*, vol I, p 225, D C Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 19; H C. Ray, L D Bernett, Luard and Lele, D Sharma, *I H Q*, vol XXXIV (1958), p 173, Smith, *Early History of India*, p 395]

2 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, p 119.

3 *The Rastrakutas and their times*, p. 101

4 *History of India*, Part I, p 203.

5. *I A*, vol VI, p 48, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160

6 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, pp 118-119.

to a longer anterior period", a statement, which does not appear to be sound and D C Ganguly[1] seems much nearer to the truth when he says that he could not find any ground in support of it Had the learned scholar carefully weighed and properly appreciated the evidence of the Navasahasanka-Carita of Padmagupta,[2] the Harsola Plates[3] of Siyaaka II and the Udayapur[4] Prasasti together in this respect, he would have reached at a different conclusion There is no doubt that Upendra was the founder of this house, a fact, which is alluded to by Padmagupta[5] in his Navasahasanka-Carita and which is supported by the evidence of the Udayapur Prasasti [6] But in the Dharampuri[7] and Ujjain[8] plates of Vakpatirajadeva alias Amoghavarsha dated V. S 1031 and 1036 respectively, the genealogy begins with Krishnaraja and not with Upendra A number of scholars namely Hall,[9] Cunningham, Buhler and Burgess[10] identify Krishnaraja with Upendra firstly because both the names are synonymous and secondly as there is no king by the name Krishnaraja in the Udayapur Prasasti, he is to be identified with Upendra To my mind these arguments are insufficient and inconclusive to prove the identity of one with the other It is true that epigraphic records of Vakpatirajadeva alias Amoghavarsha record a genealogy, which begins with Krishnaraja but this evidence is not sufficient to draw the inference that Krishnaraja was necessarily the founder and the first ruler of the Paramara royal house of Malwa, specially when we know that in some of the Paramara

1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 29, footnote 3
2 *I A*, vol XXXVI, p 163
3 *E I* vol XIX, 241
4 *Ibid*, vol I, p 234
5 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, v 76
6 *E I*, vol I, 225
7 *J A S B*, vol XXX pp 195 ff, *I A*, vol VI, pp 51 ff
8 *J A S B*, vol XIX, p 475 ff, *I A*, XIV, p 160
9 *J A S B*, vol XXXI, p 114
10 *E I*, vol I, p 225, *I A* vol XXXVI, p 167.

royal inscriptions the pedigree is traced upto two, three or four ancestors only In the Harsola Plates[1] of Siyaka II the genealogy of the Paramara rulers begins with Bappaiparaja and refers to his son Vairisimha and grandson Siyaka, the donor. In the copper plate grants of the Paramara Bhojadeva, the genealogy is traced from P M P Siyakadeva (II). C V Vaidya[2] informs us that the Nagpur Prasasti of the Paramara ruler Haravarmadeva dated V S 1161 (=1104 A. D.) begins with Vairisimha and not with Krishnaraja and makes no reference to the four kings before him as mentioned in the Udaypapur Prasasti The Panahera Inscription[3] of the time of the Paramara king Jayasimha of Malwa dated V S 1116, after describing the origin of Paramara from the fire fountain on Arbuda, extols only five Paramara princes of Malwa namely Siyaka, Munjadeva, Sindhuraja, Bhoja and Jayasimha The point, which we want to emphasise is, that the genealogy as recorded in the land grants of Vakpati alias Amoghavarsha, is possibly not a complete one and is carried back only to three of his immediate predecessors Padmagupta is one of the earliest writers on the history of the Paramaras of Malwa and was the chief court-poet[4] of Vakpatirajadeva-Munja, the Paramara ruler, whose Dharampuri Plates[5] dated V S. 1031 were issued from Ujjayini, a city, which was at that time the capital[6] of the Paramara Kingdom Thus it can reasonably be presumed that Padmagupta was conveniently in the best position to know the true pedigree of his patron. If Krishnaraja and Upendra are identical names of the same person, why Padmagupta failed to refer to Upendra as Upendra-Krishnaraja in his work Navasahasanka-Carita We think that this

1 *E I* vol XIX pp 241 ff
2 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, p 118; *E I.*, vol II, p 180, *I A* vol VI, p 51
3 *An Rep Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1916-1917, pp. 2 f
4 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga I, v 6
5 *J A S*, B vol XXX, pp 195 ff, *I A*, vol, VI, pp. 51 ff.
6 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, v 99

Krishnaraja is the same person as Bappaiparaja, referred to in the Harsola Plates[1] as father of Vairisimha, who is undoubtedly no one else but Vakpatiraja[2] I, as we know that Vappai is a prakrit form of Vakpati [3] The historicity of Vakpati I is also established by the Navasahasanka-Carita [4] If we accept the above contention the epithet 'Krishnapadanudhyata, as applied to Vairisimha in the royal grants of Vakpatirajadeva[5] alias Amoghavarsha is perfectly appropriate It appears that Vakpatiraja II, inorder to distinguish himself from his great-grandfather Vakpati-Krishnaraja, in his land-grants, deliberately omitted the first part of the latter's name, which is common and that is why we find only Krishnaraja in those records It may be pointed out that Padmagupta in his Navasahasanka-Carita does not mention Vakpati I as Vakpati-Krishnaraja and it is possibly due to the reason that at the time of the composition of this work he had no such problem before him as Vakpatirajadeva II had at the time of issuing his landgrants Moreover Padmagupta refers to Vakpatirajadeva II by his two names namely Vakpati and Utpalaraja,[6] but he has never used these two names together and wherever he uses the first, he omits the other The same analogy may be applied to the case of Vakpati-Krishnaraja As Padmagupta, refers to him merely as Vakpatiraja,[7] he omits the other It is true that in his epigraphic records[8] Vakpatirajadeva II calls himself by another name Amoghavarsha but this does

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1 *E I*, vol XIX, pp 240 ff

2 *History of Paramara Dynasty*, p 9

3 *Kavya-Prakasa*, ed Maheschandra Nyayaratna, 1886, p 119, *E I*, vol XIX, App Inscriptions of Northern India, p 1, footnote 2

4 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga v 80

5 *I A*, vol VI, pp 51 ff, *J A S B*, vol XXX, pp 195 ff; *J A S B*, vol XIX, p 475 ff *I A*, vol XIV, p 160

6 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, vv 92, 101

7 *Ibid* v 30

8 *I A*, vol VI, pp 51 ff, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160

not adversely affect our previous conclusion and this may be taken as an additional attempt on the part of the donor to make his place pronounced in the genealogical table of his dynasty.

Altekar and Nilakanta Sastri have tried to determine the period of the foundation of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa on the basis of some such evidence, which has not been relied upon by C V Vaidya The verse number twenty three in the Bagumara Plates [1] also called the Nausari [2] Plates of the Rastrakuta emperor Indra III dated S 836 (=A D 915), which eulogizes his conquests as Yuvaraja,[3] deserves consideration in this connection D R. Bhandarkar [4] was the first to point out that this verse yields two meanings, one mythological and the other historical and while the first is clear, the other is not so Inspired by this view, Altekar believes that "the second quarter of this verse" gives the useful historical information that "Indra III sacked Meru and conquered a king named Upendra who had annexed or relieved Govardhana" [5] The learned scholar proceeds further to identify Upendra of this verse with Upendra, the founder of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa [6] Indra III who ascended the throne of the Rastrakuta empire in A D 915[7] ruled till A D 922[8] or A D 927 [9] As the Bagumara[10] or Nausari [11] plates were issued on the day of the coronation of

1. *E I*, vol IX, pp 24-41.
2 *J B B R A S*, vol XVIII, pp 254
3 कृतगोवर्धनोद्धार हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा
उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम्
4 *E I*, vol IX, pp 24-41
5. *The Rastrakutas and their times* p 100.
6. *Ibid*, p 101
7. *E I*, vol IX, pp 24-41, *J B B R A S*, vol XVIII, pp 254
8 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 13.
9. *E I*, vol XXVI, p 162-3
10 *Ibid* vol IX, pp 24 41
11 *J. B B R. S*, vol XVIII, pp 254

Indra III, it naturally follows that the defeat of king Upendra, if any, referred to therein, would have taken place before that event i. e before A D 915 A S. Altekar, therefore, assigns the period from A D 900 to A D 925 for the reign of the Paramara Upendra,[1] a view, which is readily accepted by Nilakanta Sastri [2] The greatest difficulty in accepting this view is the chronological, a problem which we have considered to a certain extent and which is still under discussion Besides this, the evidence, both of the Navasahasanka-Carita[3] and of the Udayapur[4] Prasasti, does not warrant us to believe that Upendra Paramara could ever attain such a prominent place among the ruling aristocracy of the time that his defeat at the hands of Indra III constituted such an important event as to deserve a mention in the epigraphic record[5] of the latter It may further be remarked that in the verse inquestion Upendra is referred to in relation with Govardhana and not Malwa a fact Which is not denied even by Altekar [6] The word Upendra means Krishna[7] or Visnu[8] and Govardhana, which is spoken of as a mountain in Vrindavana[9] could never be equated with Malwa We therefore, fail to understand how that Upendra, who lifted up Govardhana could be identified with his name-sake in the Udayapur Prasasti [10] In fact both the mythological and the historical references in the verse are clear. While the first refers to the lifting up of Govardhana by Upendra i e krsna, the latter mentions Indra III as having uprooted the Bana ruler Vikramaditya Jayamera with

1 *The Rastrakutas and their times*, p 101
2 *Lakshmana Swarup Commemoration* Volume, p 297.
3 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, v 78
4 *E I*, vol I, p 225
5 *E I.*, vol IX, pp 25-41, *J, B B R A S*, vol. XVIII, pp. 254
6 *The Rastrakutas and their times*, p 100
7. *J A S B*, vol XXXI, p 114
8 *Nalanda Vishal Sabdasagar*, Delhi, p 165
9 *Ibid*, p 336
10 *E I* vol I, p 225.

ease [1] Having thus, discussed the positions of Upendra and Vakpatiraja I in the genealogy of the Paramara rulers of Malwa, as referred to in the Udayapur Prasasti,[2] we how proceed to consider the historicity of the other two rulers namely Vairisimha I and Siyaka I, who come between Upendra and Vakpati I in the same epigraphic record [3] The mere fact, that they stand between the two historical personages goes a long way to disprove the view that they are imaginary kings [4] It is true that their descriptions[5] in the Udayapur Prasasti are conventional and devoid of any definite historical fact but we fail to understand how this evidence can help those, who emphasise their fictitious character To my mind, the only natural and logical inference, that can be drawn is that they were unimportant rulers of the dynasty and that is why Padmagupta did not mention them expressly by names but summarily disposed them of by stating that between Upendra and Vakpati I there came a number of rulers [6]

We have stated earlier, that both the Navasahasanka-Carita[7] and the Udayapur[8] Prasasti testify to the fact that Upendra was the first king of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa Giving an account of his Padmagupta says," this sacrificer, before whom Indra was afraid lest by performing hundred yajnas, Upendra should usurp Indra's throne), whose body was rendered holy by (many *avabhrta*) baths i e those taken at the end of sacrifices,

1 *I H Q*, vol XXXIV, (1958 , p 174
2 *E I*, vol I, p 225
3 *Ibid*, pp 233-236
4 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol II, p 119
5 *E I*, vol I, p 237
6 Tasmin gate narendresu tadanyesu gatesu ca/Tatra Vakpatirajakhyah parthivendur ajayata/*Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, v 80
7. *Ibid*, v 70
8 *E I*, vol I, p 225

decked the earth with golden yupas",[1] The Udayapur Prasasti describes him as," Upendraraja, whose fame was proclaimed by the immortals, satisfied by the multitude of all sacrifices, who was a jewel among the twice-born and gained high honour of kingship (Knighthood, according to Buhler) by his own valour" [2] An important fact, which can be gleaned from this evidence is that Upendra performed a number of sacrifices, as we find this information in two different records, which were written at different periods and by different writers On coming to the throne, it appears, that Upendra, inorder to stablize his position, realised the prime necessity and importance to canvass support, among the indigenous population of his realm, for an alien rule He ensured the cooperation of the Brahmana hierarchy to the new monarchy by performing a 'multitude of sacrifices' and thus proved himself as the champion of that sacred institution But as he was equally anxious to secure the cooperation of the masses, he reduced the burden of taxes borne by his subjects[3] He was a singular warrior[4] and also a patron of the learned It appears that he extended his patronage to one poetess Sita, who, as can be inferred from a verse of the Navasahasanka-Ćarita,[5] composed a certain eulogy in honour of him But the *Prabandhas*, namely the Prabandhacintamani[6] and the Bhoja-prabandha,[7] both of which contain the same verses by her, refer to a poetess named Sita, who had the privilege of seeking the audience of king Bhoja Out of these two, the evidence of

1 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, v 78

2 *E I*, vol I, pp 233-238, v 7

3 Navasahasanka-Carita, Sarga XI, vv 76, 78

4 *E I*, vol I, p 233-238, v 7, *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, v. 76

5 सदागतिप्रवृत्तेन सीतोच्छ्वसितहेतुना ।
हनूमतेव यशसा यस्याऽलङ्घ्यत सागर ॥
Sarga XI, v 77

6 *Prabandhacintamani*, Trans by C H Tawney, p. 63

7 *Bhojaprabandha*, Trans by Louis H Gray, p 38.

Padmagupta deserves more credence than that of the Prabandhas and there is a possibility that the two ladies would have been identical[1] Following D C Ganguly[2] the period of reign, which we may provisionally allot to Upendra, would be from A D. 809-810 to 837.

Before we proceed further with an account of Vairisimha I, the immediate successor[3] of Upendra we propose to discuss an event of resounding importance, which in years to come not only changed the political status and affinities of the Paramara kingdom of Malwa but also contributed much to draw a new political map of northern India That event was the accession of Mihira Bhoja to the Pratihara throne of Kanauj in or shortly before A D 836 (=V S 893),[4] which almost synchronised with the death of Upendra, the founder for the Paramara dynasty of Malwa As we are primarily concerned with the history of Malwa, we will mainly devote our attention to that aspect of Mihira-Bhoja's reign In the early part of his[5] reign, Bhoja faced no threat or danger from the Rastrakutas, either of the Manyakheta or of the Gujarat On the contrary, their distracted condition offered him a golden opportunity for the westward expansion of his empire The Rastrakuta emperor Amoghavarsha had already too many irons in the fire and being preoccupied with problems or difficulties nearer home, he had no time to thwart the imperialistic designs of his Northern adversary. In fact, it was during a long period of thirty years from A D 830 to A D 860 that he struggled hard to put down rebellions and other disruptive or disintegrating forces in different parts of his empire His life and death struggle with the Eastern Calukyas, which commenced in A D 817[6] proved to be a protracted

1. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 292
2 *Ibid*, p 29
3 *E I* vol I, p 237
4 *Ibid*, vol XIX, p 15, *Ibid*, vol XXIII, p 242.
5 *I. H Q*, vol XXXIV, p 147.
6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 9

one and the Vengi ruler Vijayaditya II suffered a crushing defeat at his hands in A D 830 But this reverse did not break the backbone of the East-Calukyan resistance, with the result that the victor, inorder to maintain his authority over there, had to station an army of occupation at their capital for no less than about fifteen years to come Even these drastic measures proved of no avail to suppress an insurrection which had possibly touched hearts of the people, and shortly before A D 845, Panduranga,[1] a general of the deposed ruler Vijayaditya II liberated the city of Vengi from the Rastrakutas. Almost simultaneously, during the first two decades of his reign, Amoghavarsha conducted a continuous war against the Gangas, which eventually went almost in favour of the latter and in desperation the Rastrakuta emperor abandoned any further serious effort to bring back that province under his supremacy The feud continued for a long time and it was only in 860 A D, that it was terminated by a matrimonial alliance between the two houses[2] There is also evidence[3] to show that with the death of Karkka in A D 830 the cordial relations between the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta and Gujarat came to an end and with the accession of his son and successor Dhruva I to the throne of Gujarat, an era of hostility was inaugurated between him and his cousin Amoghvarsha, the Rastrakuta emperor The struggle was both protracted and a bloody one, in which Dhruva I ultimately perished and which lasted for about twenty five years[4] The supreme sacrifice of his father to his cause inspired Akalavarsha, who succeeded Dhruva I in A D 845 to carry on the tragic war to the end of his life and which only came to an end in A D 860, when he was succeeded by his son Dhruva II The Rastrakutas of Gujarat, whose kingdom lay contiguous to that of the Paramaras of Malwa, had naturally, almost completely exhausted

1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 9

2 *Ibid*,

3 *Ibid*, p 10

4 *Ibid*

themselves in their long-drawn struggle with Amoghavarsha and were also not in a position to prevent Mihira-Bhoja from his conquest of Malwa and Saurastra [1] Moreover as their relations with their kinsmen at Manyakheta continued to be enemical, they possibly, now had no desire to fight for the integrity of the Rastrakuta empire and to bear the brunt of the attack of the Pratihara arms In view of these circumstances, it can reasonably be presumed that sometime between A D 836 and A D 860 the kingdom of Malwa slipped out from the suzerainty of the Rastrakuta emperor Amoghavarsha and accepted the Paramountcy of the Pratihara ruler of Kanauj, Mihira Bhoja Amoghavarsha remained a silent spectator to the dissolution of the northern provinces of his empire, as none of his records suggests that he under took any campaign in the north It was not only Malwa, which laid prostrate before the advancing armies of Bhoja but it is clear from the evidence of the Una Copper plates[2] that Cutch and Kathiawar were also included within his empire H C Raychaudhari[3] has tried to infer from a passage in the Vastrapathamahatmya of the Skandapurana that Bhoja's authority extended upto Saurastra, a piece of literary evidence, which is in conformity with facts known from the above epigraphic records Sulaiman, an arab, whose account of India was composed in A D 851 describes Bhoja's empire as 'a tongue of land,[4] an expression, which allows us to draw an inference as to the inclusion of Saurastra with in his realm It appears, that Mihira Bhoja, following the traditions of a 'Dharmavijaya' allowed the Paramara rulers of Malwa to rule the country as his feudatories, as there is not the slightest evidence to suggest any other conclusion to the contrary If there had been any break in their continuous rule, as a result of the Pratihara conquest of Malwa, it would not have been possible to get a complete genealogy of the Paramara rulers in

1 *I H Q*, vol XXXIV, (1958), p 147

2 *E I*, vol IX, pp 1 ff

3 *I H Q*, vol V, pp 129-135

4 *Elliot and Dowson*, vol I, p 5

the Udayapur Prasasti [1] The political significance of the extension of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire in the west, may be understood in this light that it not only immensely increased the power of Bhoja I, but also contributed much to disturb the balance of power in the North after the death of the Pala emperor Devapala in A D 850 The tripartite struggle for power ended, giving place to a direct dual contest, between the Gurjara-Pratihara and the Rastrakuta empires, which ultimately paved the way for the destruction of the both

D C Ganguly does not ascribe to our view and holds that in no case Malwa was annexed to the kingdom of Kanauj before A. D [2] 914 The Sirur inscription[3] refers to the kings of Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Malava and Vengi, who worshipped Amoghavarsha As far the reference to Vengi is concerned, it is easily intelligible [4] The first three countries in the list, which lay farther east in the direction of Bengal, were included in the Pala empire and as such the above assertion may be treated merely as a poetic hyperbole It is true that Malava was a bone of contention between the Rastrakutas and the Pratiharas, but its reference too in this epigraphic record is surpising and may not be relied upon, if we compare the rising power of Mihira Bhoja on one hand with the declining fortunes of Amoghavarsha on the other. It further appears that Bhoja consolidated his conquests of western India by A D 860, which alone could enable him to interfere into a war[5] for the throne of Gujarat between Dhruva II and his younger brother sometime before 867[6] A D It is on the basis of the evidence of verses 37 and 38 of the Broach Inscrip-

1 *E I*, vol I, p 225

2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 34.

3 *I A*, vol XII, pp 219 ff

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 9

5 *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part 2, p 87, Inscription No 129

6 *I A*, vol XII, p. 179

tion of Dhruva[1] II that Dasharatha Sharma[2] has drawn the inference of a war of succession in which Bhoja interfered on behalf of the younger brother of Dhruva II and led a cavalry raid into Gujarat It may be pointed out that Bhoja's interference into the Gujarat affairs was entirely due to political motives and his subtle diplomatic move to bring that kingdom under his supremacy is understandable in view of the brilliant success, which his policy of aggrandisement had already achieved in Malwa and Saurastra On this occasion Amoghavarsa perhaps came to the rescue of his clansmen[3] against the Northern invader This piece of information is an important one as it helps us to determine the approximate period of this conflict The cordial relations between the two houses of the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta and Gujarat were only restored back in A D. 860, with the accession of Dhruva II to the throne of the latter, and as such Amoghavarsha's help would have come only after that date We are, therefore, inclined to suggest that Bhoja invaded Gujarat sometime between A D 860 and A D 867 and not between A D 845 and 860 as believed by R C Majumdar [4] The event is mentioned for the first time in the Bagumra[5] grant dated A D 867 and the relevant verses have been quoted by scholars[6] as referring to Dhruva II It is evident from this grant that Bhoja, whom it refers to by his biruda 'Mihira'[7] suffered a defeat at the hands of Dhruva II It can not be denied that it was a splendid achievement of the Rastrakuta arms and the verse 41 of the inscription compares that achievement, to that of a cloud which overcasts the sky and darkens the midday

1 *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part 2, p. 87
2. *I H Q*, vol XXXIV, (1958) p 148
3 *Ibid*
4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 30
5 *I A*, vol XII, pp 179 ff
6 R. C. Majumdar, *J D. L*, vol. X, p 50, R S Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p 242, Altekar, *History of the Rastrakutas*, p 85, Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*, p 405
7. Bagumra grant v. 41, *I A*, vol XII, pp 179 ff.

sun [1] To my mind, two inferences can be drawn from this imagery of the inscription itself Firstly, it serves as one of the best testimonies to the strength of Bhoja in 867 A D. and secondly, just as a cloud envelops the midday sun and darkens it only for a short time, the reverse, which Bhoja suffered appears to be only a temporary set back But R S Tripathi [2] considers it nothing short of a disaster for Bhoja, a view, which, possibly, attaches undue importance to the event [3] Whether the reverse was a rout or a retreat is not of much concern to us, but the point, which is of importance is that it could not put a permanent restraint upon Bhoja's ambitions for territorial conquests in the South and before a decade elapsed he was again determined "to conquer the three worlds" [4] (*Srimad-Adivarahena trailokyam vijigisuna*)

With the accession of Krsna II, the son and successor of Amoghavarsa in A D 878 [5] or A D 880, [6] the traditional rivalry between the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta and the Pratiharas of Kanauj entered upon a new phase of retaliation and counter-retaliation It is difficult to say which party actually opened up the hostilities but if we care to look into the previous balance-sheets of their mutual loss and gain, we may arrive at a certain conclusion During the disturbed reign of Amoghavarsa, the Rastrakutas had not only suffered a double loss in territory and reputation but were since then, living in a state of constant danger and insecurity from the attacks or incursions of a powerful and aggressive power, which had securely pitched itself near the northern frontiers of their empire and had even the audacity

1 *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part 2, p 87, Inscription No 129

2 *History of Kanauj*, pp 242-3.

3 *I H Q.*, vol XXXIV, (1958), p 148

4 Gwalior Inscription V S 932 (=A D , 875); *E I* vol I, p 156.

5. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 31

6. *I H Q.*, vol XXXIV, (1958), p 148

to interfere, at the slightest opportunity, into their provincial political affairs Thus the grievances of the Rastrakutas against the Pratiharas were many-fold as to what the latter had against the former Besides this, the age factor of the two sovereigns namely Krsna II and Bhoja also helps us to name the aggressor. Bhoja, who by this time had already enjoyed a reign of more than forty years, was a man of advanced age and naturally much of his enthusiasm for fresh conquests might have died down, while Krsna II, who had inherited a vast and mighty empire was full of youth, vigour and ambition to launch upon a career of territorial conquests, a practice, which was commonly followed by almost every ruler on assuming the mantle of sovereignty. It is evident, from several epigraphic records[1] that sometime before A D 888[2] the floodgates opened and the Rastrakuta emperor Krsna II assisted by his namesake, the feudatory ruler of the Gujarat branch launched a joint military assault against the Gurjara king i e the Pratihara ruler[3] and obtained initial successes, as the invading army advanced as far as Ujjayini in Northern India This Gurjara was no one else but Mihira Bhoja, a view, which is commonly held[4] It is clear from the Bagumra Plates (A D 888)[5] *that a sanguinary battle was fought between* the two armies at Ujjayini, in which Krsna II, the Rastrakuta ruler of Gujarat played a prominent part, in defeating the enemy, an achievement, which not only spread his fame far and wide but might have also brought to him wide acclamation from his Vallabha i e overlord, Vallabharaja Krsna II of Manyakheta, who was personally present on the battlefield It cannot be denied

1. Ankulesvar grant, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part 2, No 131, *E I*, vol IX, p 24, Bagumra Plates, dated A D 914
2. This is the date of the Ankulesvar grant in which the event is mentioned (Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat, Part 3 No 131)
3. *I H Q*, vol XXXIV, (1958), p 148
4. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 31
5. *E I*, vol IX, p 24, *I A*, vol XIII, p 66

that on this occasion Bhoja suffered a serious reverse and the battle of Ujjayini completely went into the favour of the Rastrakutas In fact, it was a great and memorable event and old people of the Rastrakuta dominions vividly remembered it even in A D 914, when the Bagumra[1] Plates of Indra III were issued Verse 14 of this grant refers to a war between the Gurjara i. e, the Pratihara ruler Bhoja and Krsna II of Manyakheta in which the latter obviously defeated the former But the Rastrakuta victory did not amount to a loss of Malwa to the Gurjara-Pratihara empire because a swift retaliation came from the Pratiharas, which practically unnerved the victors Bhoja was not a ruler to tolerate an insult to the Pratihara arms and as soon as the entire military resources of the empire were mobilized, the enemy was on the run The Barton Museum inscription,[2] a Pratihara record speaks of a ruler, "who was known all around by every one as *(Va)raha*", who probably reached the Reva, i e Narmada, and caught Krsnaraja by means of forced marches," (*Satire-Kaih pravanaih prapya drak krsnarajam*) It appears that Bhoja was so anxious to retrieve his reputation that inspite of his old age he took the command in person of an expeditionary force and hotly pursued Krsna II, whom he caught up, when the latter had just reached the Reva (Narmada) and inflicted a decisive defeat upon the allies But he did not stop there and inorder to reap the full advantage of his victory at the battle of Reva, pressed his southward drive onwards, conquered the Khetaka-mandala and possibly, put an end to the Gujarat line of the Rastrakutas[3] Khetaka-mandala was annexed to the Pratihara empire and thus Bhoja's long cherished desire of the conquest in the South was accomplished The two facts on which we have based our contentions are, Firstly, we do not hear of the Gujarat Rastrakutas after A D 888, as Krsnaraja is the last known ruler of this dynasty and secondly the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV refer to

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1 *E I*, vol IX, p 31

2. *I A*, vol XIX, p 174, *I H Q*, vol. XXXIV, (1958), p 149.

3 *I H Q*, vol XXXIV, (1958), p 150

Khetaka-mandala[1] being freed by Akalvarsa (Krsna II) from the hold of some enemy[2] In this inscription as the above event has been considered the most important achievement of Krsna II as to deserve a mention in it, it can be presumed that the enemy, who was expelled from Khetaka-mandala must have been very powerful and who could be either Mihira Bhoja himself or any one of his successors Mahendrapala, Bhoja II or Mahipala It appears that Khetaka (Kaira District) and also the region round it fell into the hands of Mihira Bhoja a little after 888[3] A D It cannot be denied that in addition to Malwa, the loss of Khetaka was a fresh eye-sore to the Rastrakuta emperor Krsna II, with the result that the latter could not remain a part of the Pratihara empire for more than two decades, as the problem of its reconquest constantly agitated his mind It is certain that by A D. 910 Krsna II had succeeded in his mission, as we find that in that year the Khetaka area was under the rule of his feudatory Pracanda[4] The death of the Pratihara emperor Mahendrapala in A D 907-8[5] plunged the empire into utter confusion, due to disputed succession to the throne, and Krsna II, who was always in search of such an opportunity might have taken full advantage of those chaotic conditions to reconquer Khetaka

However, several scholars[6] believe that the Pratihara conquest of Khetaka-mandala preceded Krsna's attack on Ujjayini. But there are certain difficulties in accepting this view We

1 *E I*, vol VII, p 29

2 A S Altekar thinks that the enemy may have been a member of the Gujarat branch But to Dasharatha Sharma this seems less likely than his being some Pratihara ruler *I H. Q.* vol XXXIV, (1958), p 150, footnote 52

3 *I. H Q*, vol XXXIV, (1958), p 150

4 Kapadwanj grant of Krsna II, *E I*, vol. I, p 52

5 Siyadoni Inscription, *E I*, vol I, p 162

6. N Venkataramanayya, (*I H Q*, vol XXXIV, (1958), p 149, Footnote 48), R. C Majumdar, (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 31), B N. Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 61.

discussed earlier that Krsna II, the Rastrakuta ruler of Gujarat, had accompanied the Rastrakuta emperor Krsna II on his northern expedition to Ujjayini and had rendered a signal service to his overlord in defeating the enemy at the battle of that city If the Pratihara conquest of Khetaka, resulting in the ultimate deposition of its ruler Krsna II, was an accomplished fact before A D 888, what was the hesitation to the Rastrakuta emperor Krsna II to restore back his faithful ally to the throne of Gujarat and to allow the Gujarat line to continue its career, after he had emancipated that territory from the domination of the Pratiharas Are we to believe that the Rastrakuta emperor was so ungrateful to his Gujarat feudatory that instead of recognizing his services, he kicked him out and appropriated the kingdom to himself The fact appears to be that when the enemy was finally dislodged from the Rastrakuta kingdom of Gujarat, the former ruling dynasty was not reinstated there, as it had no contribution in the reconquest of Khetaka-mandala, and this treatment was perfectly in accordance with the maxim "*Virabhogya Vasundhara*" (the land belongs to the conqueror)

Though Khetaka-mandala was finally lost to the Pratiharas, Malwa did not follow suit and inspite of the Northern expeditions of the Rastrakuta emperors Krsna II and his successor Indra III,[1] it continued to be a part of the Pratihara empire As Indra III, following the Bhopal-Jhansi-Kalpi route,[2] proceeded against Kanauj through Malwa sometime between A D 915 and 918 and halted at Ujjain to pay his devotions to god Mahakala[3] , a strong possibility cannot be ruled out that he, inorder to secure his lines of communication and supplies from his capital Manyakheta, which lay far of in the South, might have conquered the Paramara kingdom of Malwa, a conquest, if made, proved to be a temporary one The Rastrakuta emperor

1 *E I* vol VII, p 38

2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 13

3 *E I* vol VII, pp 29-30

decisively defeated Mahipala the Pratihara reigning sovereign, occupied the city of Kanauj and completely devastated and sacked it [1] The Rastrakutas, who, as usual, believed in the policy of hit and run did not stay for long in the north to consolidate their conquests, with the result that as soon as the enemy turned his back and started on return journey home, Mahipala, with the help of his powerful feudatories[2] took up the task of restoring the fallen fortunes of his family, in which he attained a splendid success It can reasonably be presumed from the evidence of the Kahla Plate[3] of Kalachuri Sodhadeva that Mahipala, assisted by Bhamana, his feudatory Kalachuri chief of Gorakhpur conquered Dhara and thus recovered back Malwa from the Rastrakutas There is evidence to show that the Paramara rulers of Malwa remained feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihara emperors of Kanauj even as late as A D 946 and the latter exercised complete sovereign authority over that part of the country The Partabgarh[4] (Rajputana), now Ajmer Museum, Inscription dated V S 1003 (=A D 946) of the Pratihara Maharaja Mahendrapaladeva II, which was issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj), records that at the request of one Dhanasura, Mahendrapala II bestowed the village of Kharpara-Padraka, situated in the vicinity of Ghonta-Varsika in the western Pathaka of Dasapura (Mandasor, Madhya Pradesh) for the increase of the religious merit of his parents upon the goddess Vata-yakshini Devi Madhava, son of Damodara, was acting as the great feudatory *(mahadandanayaka)*, great Governor *(mahasamanta)* and charge d' affairs *(tantrapala)* at Ujjain, and his commander-in-chief *(baladhikrita)* Sri Sarman was carrying on the affairs

1 *E I*, vol VII, p 38, Altekar, *The Rastrakutas and their times* p 101-2, Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p 260, Majumdar, *J Dep L*, vol X, p 66

2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 36

3 " . . *nija-vijayi-pa (d-o) ddhara-Dharavamsa-(hrsya)t-sena-Jaya-Sri-hatha-harana-Kala-dhama Bhamanadevah*" v. 13, *E I* vol. VII, p 88

4 *E I*, vol XIV, pp 182 ff

of the State at Mandapika or Mandu (Madhya Pradesh) under this Pratihara monarch We further know from this epigraphic record that on the Mina-Samkranti day Madhava, having bathed and paid devotions at the sanctuary of Mahakala at Ujjain, granted at the request of the Cahamana feudatory, Mahasamanta Indraraja, the village of Dharapadraka for the maintenance of daily services and repairs of the temple of Indradityadeva

Upendra was succeeded by his son[1] Vairisimha I to the Paramara kingdom about the year 836-837 A D The Udayapur Prasasti[2] refers to him, "a lion for the elephant-like hostile kings, the best of heroes, the illustrious Vairisimha, who composed his own eulogy by (erecting) pillars of victory (everywhere) on the earth that is bounded by four oceans" The description appears to be a conventional one, as no particular historical information can be obtained from it, as regards Vairisimha's martial achievements However, it can be presumed that he did not find the throne of Malwa, a bed of roses and before he could consolidate his position, he had to face strong opposition, which he successfully wiped out On the basis of the above verse, it is suggested that he erected the iron pillar at Dhara[3] In an inscription discovered from Arthuna,[4] dated V S 1236 (=1179 A D), Dambarasimha, who is described as the younger brother of Vairisimha, founded the ruling dynasty of Vagada, a junior branch of the Paramara princes The former princely states of Banswara and Dungarpur, which lie on the southern border of Rajputana, were together known in ancient times by the common name of Vagada[5] There is no evidence

1 *E I*, vol I, pp 233-238

2 *Ibid*, p 237

तत्सूनुरामीदरिराजकुभिकठीरवो वीयंवता वरिष्ठ ।
श्रीवैरसिहश्चतुरणंवान्तधात्र्या जयस्तभकृतप्रशस्ति ।।८।।

3 *A. S I* 1902-3, p 207

4 *E I*, vol XIV, p 296

5 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol XI, p 380

to prove the identity of Vairisimha I of the Udayapur Prasasti[1] with his name sake in the Arthuna Inscription[2] But as we know that Kanka[3] or Kankadeva, the Vagada prince, was a contemporary of Siyaka-Harsa of Malwa (A D 948-972 A D) and if we allow a reign of about forty two or forty three years to each of the two kanka's predecessors, namely Cacca and Dhanika, we may accept the above identification, presuming that Vairisimha I bestowed the province of Vagada upon his younger brother Dambarasimha shortly before his death The Paramaras of Vagada possibly never asserted their independence and ruled as the feudatories of the Imperial house of Dhara This fact is clear from the evidence of the Arthuna inscription,[4] which mentions that Kanka accompanied his over-lord Sri Harsa or Siyaka II (*Sri-Sriharsa-nrpasya Malava-pateh*), when the latter attacked Khottiga, the Rastrakuta ruler of Manyakheta and lost his life, while fighting bravely against the enemy at the battle of Khalighatta[5] on the bank of the Narmada

Siyaka I was the son and successor of Vairisimha I, who came to the throne about A D 863 The Udayapur Prasasti[6] considers him a first grade conqueror and an exterminator of enemies, though neither his conquests nor his adversaries have been named there in The praise appears to be conventional and the above inscription describes him thus, "From him (Vairisimha I) sprang the illustrious Siyaka, a prince (standing) in the first rank of conquerors, whose footstool was resplendent and

1 *E I*, vol I, p 237

2 *Ibid*, vol XIV p 296

3 *Ibid*, vol XIV, p 296

4 *Ibid*, p 299

5 *Ibid* vol XXI, p 42

6 *E I*, vol. I, p 237, v 9

तस्माद्बभूव वसुधाधिपमौलिमालारत्नप्रभारुचिररञ्जितपादपीठ ।
श्रीसीयक करकृपाणजलोर्म्मिमग्नशत्रुव्रजो विजयिना धुरि भूमिपाल ॥९॥

coloured by the rays of the Jewels in the diadems of kings, (he) the crowd of whose enemies was submerged in the waves of the water of the blade in his hand."

After the close of his father's reign, Vakpati I inherited the kingdom of Malwa.[1] Padmagupta in his Navasahasanka-Carita[2] testifies to the fact of his accession to the throne The Udayapur Prasasti describes him as ' a sun for (those) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti" Malava included both Akara and Avanti carresponding to western and eastern Malava respectively This reference indirectly proves that eastern Malava was under his supreme control Further, he is compared with 'Satamakha' (i e A celebrator of a hundred yagnas, namely Indra), which possibly denotes his enthusiasm to uphold the institution of vedic sacrifices and not his military valour, as D C Gangly[3] believes Lastly, it is referred to, that his, 'armies drank the waters of Ganga and of the ocean' [4]

Mihira Bhoja, the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor of Kanauj died about A D 885[5] or 890[6] and was succeeded by his son Mahendrapala I As Malwa continued to remain a part of the Gnrjara-Pratihara empire of Kanauj as late as A. D 946,[7] Vakpati I, who ascended the throne of Malwa about the year 890-91[8] A D was naturally a contemporary and a feudatory of Mahendrapala I The new emperor of Kanauj proved himself a

1 *Ibid* p 237
2 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, v 80
3 *History of the Paramra Dynasty*, p 31
4 *E I*, vol I, p 237

तस्मादवन्तितरुणीनयनारविन्दभास्वानभूत्करकृपाणमरीचदीप्र ।
श्रीवाक्पति शतमखानुकृतिस्तुरगा गगासमुद्र-सलिलानि पिवन्ति यस्य ॥१०॥

5 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 33
6. *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 66
7 *E I*, vol XIV, pp 182 ff
8 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 31

worthy successor of his illustrious father, as he not only preserved intact almost the whole of the empire, which he received in inheritance, but also further expanded it towards the east[1] The fact that as many as seven[2] of his epigraphic records have been discovered in South Bihar and North Bengal with dates ranging from years 2 to 19, possibly of his regnal year, shows that shortly after his accession Mahendrapala I embarked upon a career of conquests in the East, with the result that Magadha (South Bihar) and even North Bengal, the homeland of the Palas, which still then constituted parts of the empire of the Pala emperor Narayanapala, passed into the hands of the Pratihara monarch sometime between A D 890 and A D. 900.[3] It appears, that as a feudatory Vakpati I accompanied the armies of his sovereign Mahendrapala I in their march against the Pala emperor and there is no wonder if during the course of the campaign in Bihar and Bengal, the 'armies under his command "drank the waters of Ganga" and reached the shores of the eastern ocean The bards also credit Vakpati I with a campaign in Kamarupa (Assam) in which he was successful after 27 days fighting[4] It is difficult to believe, if Vakpati I would have ever dreamt of conducting a campaign independently in such a distant

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1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 33.

2 (1) The Dighwa-Dubauli (Saran Distt. Bihar) Plate dated V S 955 *I A*, vol XV, p 112 (2) The British Museum Ins dated in the year 2 *Bhandarkar's list* no 1641 (3) The Votive Ins on the pedestal from Bihar-Sharif, Patna Distt, dated in the year 4 *A S I*. An Rep 1923-24, pp 101-102 (4) Another Ins dated in the year 4, now in the Nalanda Museum. Sastri Memoir, *A S. I* (No 66) p 105-106. (5) Paharpur (Rajshahi, Distt Bengal) Ins dated in the year 5 *A S I* An Rep 1925-26, p 141 (6) The Rama Gaya Ins (Gaya Distt Bihar) *A S B* vol V, p 64 (7) The Gunariya Ins (Gaya Distt Bihar) dated in year 19, *Ibid*

3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 57

4 *The Dhar State Gaz* p 130

land and there is also no evidence to show that even his over-lord Mahendrapala I advanced further in the East as far as Kamarupa The truth, which appears to be in this bardic evidence, is that Vakpati I participated in some campaign in eastern India, an inference, which is in conformity with our contentions.

We discussed earlier that Vakpati I of the Udayapur Prasasti[1] is identical with Krishnaraja of the grants of Vakpatirajadeva alias Amoghavarsha[2] and it appears that Vakpati and Krishna-raja are the two names of one and the same person Our view is supported to a great extent, by a legend,[3] which narrates that Vakpati or the lord of eloquence was the biruda or title of the son and successor of Siyaka I, and which was conferred upon the crown-prince, during the life time of his father, when the former, while encamping at Dasapura and finding the people of that district on the verge of a rebellion, averted the popular rising, by allaying the fears of its leaders by his peaceful and persuasive words Now the question arises, if Vakpati was only a biruda, what was the name of the son and successor of Siyaka I. The possible suggestion that may be given is that his name was Krishnaraja. The above grants apply the titles of Parama-bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara to Krishnaraja and his son and successor Vairisimha II, which should only be taken as conventional and not to indicate their Imperial or independent status, as the feudatory character of the Paramara rulers of Malwa is well established as late as A D 946[4]

Vairisimha II, the son and successor of Vakpati I, who was also known by the name of *'Vajratasvami'*, ascended the throne

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1 *E I*, vol I, p 237

2 *J A S B*, vol XXX, pp 195 ff, *I A*, vol, VI, pp 51 ff, *J A S B*, vol XIX, p 475, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160

3 *The Dhar Gaz*, p 130

4 *E I* vol XIV pp 182 ff

about the year A D 917-18[1] The Udayapur Prasastı[2] mentions, 'From hım (Vakpatı I) was born Vaırısımha, whom the people call by another name, the lord Vajrata, by that kıng famous Dhara was ındıcated, when he slew the crowd of hıs enemıes wıth the sharp edge (Dhara) of hıs sword" Gıvıng an alegorıcal descrıptıon of thıs prınce, Padmagupta wrıtes that he was a, "lıon to hıs enemıes, hıs fame brıght as Jasmıne and lıke the moon, was as a mane to hım, when the kıngly swans saw the bow of thıs prınce, who was lıke Paulomı's husband, they forsook the land, as the regal swans forsook the pond when they saw Indra's pond"[3] Two facts, that can be gleaned from the above evıdence, are Fırstly, that Vaırısımha II was a warrıor, "a lıon to hıs enemıes' and secondly, that he dıstınguıshed hımself ın the battle of Dhara as an exterminator of hıs enemıes, "wıth the sharp edge of hıs sword". The Kahla Plate[4] of Kalachurı Sodhadeva dated V S 1134 (=A D 1077) mentıons that Bhamanadeva, the Kalachurı chıef of Gorakhpur (Uttar-Pradesh), who was a feudatory of Mahıpala I, the Gurjara-Pratıhara emperor of Kanauj, dıstınguıshed hımself by the conquest of Dhara As Mahıpala I, who ascended the throne about A D 912,[5] and hıs feudatorıes Bhamanadeva and Vaırısımha II were -all contemporarıes, ıt is clear that ıt ıs one and the same event of the conquest of Dhara, whıch finds place ın the Udayapur Prasastı and the Kahla Inscrıptıon Further, as both Vaırısımha II and Bhamanadeva were only feudatory rulers, ıt was beyond the strength of eıther of the two to wrest Dhara back from the clutches of the Rastrakutas, who had overrun Malwa sometıme

1 *Hıstory of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 31

2 *E I*, vol I, p 237

जातस्तस्माद्वैरिसिंहोन्यनाम्ना लोको ब्रूते वज्रटस्वामिन य ।
शत्रुवर्गं धारयासेर्निहन्य श्रीमद्धारा सूचिता येन राज्ञा ॥११॥

3 *Navasahasanka-Carıta*, Sarga XI, 83-84, *I A*, vol XXXVI, pp 163-4

4. *E I.*, vol VII, p 88 ff

5 *The Age of Imperıal Kanauj*, p 35

between A D 915 and 918.[1] It, therefore, appears that they accompanied their sovereign Mahipala I on his southern march and signally distinguished themselves in defeating the enemy and sharing a victory with him The reason, why either of the two epigraphic records solely credits its own warrior-king with the victory of Dhara, without making the slightest reference to the other, is that both are the official dynastic inscriptions of the Paramaras and the Kalachuris respectively

1 *Ibid*

CHAPTER IV

The Imperial Paramaras

On the death of Vairisimha II, his son and successor Siyaka II became the new ruler of the Paramara kingdom of Malwa sometime before A D 949[1] The later epigraphic records, namely, the Udayapur Prasasti[2] and the Arthuna[3] inscription refer to him by another name Harsa In his[4] own inscriptions, together with that of his successors Vakpati-Munja[5], and Bhoja,[6] he is mentioned as Siyaka There is not the least doubt that Harsa and Siyaka are the two names of one and the same king, as in the Paramara inscriptions[7] both are referred to as the father of Vakpati-Munja According to Buhler[8] the full name of the king was Harsasimha, both parts of which were used as abbreviations, a view which is not acceptable to D C Ganguly [9] Merutunga[10] in his Prabandhacintamani mentions

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1 The Harsola grant is dated V S 1005 (=949) *E I*, vol XIX, p 236

2 तस्मादभूदरिनरेश्वरसंघसेवागर्ज्जद्गजेंद्ररवसुंदरतूर्यनाद ।
श्रीहर्षदेव इति खोट्टिगदेवलक्ष्मी जग्राह यो युधि नगादसमप्रताप ॥१२॥
E I, vol I, p 237

3 "*Sri-Sriharsa-nrpasya Malava-pateh*" V 19, *E I*, vol XIV, p 299,

4 *E I*. vol XIX, p 236, *E I*, vol XIX, p 177,

5 *I A*, vol VI, p 48, *Ibid*, vol XIV, p 160

6 *E I*, vol XI, pp 182-183, *I A*, vol VI, pp 49-54, *E I*, vol XVIII, pp 320-324, Hindustani' Oct 1931, pp 494-515

7 पुत्रस्तस्य .... श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेव V 13
E I, vol I, p 237'

8 *E I*, vol I, p 225

9 *History of Paramara Dynasty*, p 37

10 *Prabandhacintamani* (Trans) by C H Tawney, p, 30

him as Simhadantabhata By the time of the accession of Siyaka II, the political conditions in Northern India had undergone a considerable change and were such as to favour the rise and growth of an independent Paramara kingdom of Malwa The northern expedition of the Rastrakuta emperor Indra III, soon after his accession, sometime between A D 915 and A D 918, had not only shaken the Pratihara empire to its foundations but had also dealt a severe blow to the prestige of the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor Mahipala I Though the latter had succeeded to a great extent in restoring back the declining fortunes of his family, the Rastrakuta debacle had given an impetus to the disintegrating forces of the Pratihara empire to gain a fresh momentum and ultimately to pave the way for its decline. Infact, it was the ambition of the feudatory chiefs and provincial governors to assert their independence, which finally sealed the fate of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire. The Chandella ruler Yasovarman, was the first among the feudatories to strike at the roots of the unity and integrity of the Pratihara empire, when he, without giving a moment's thought to that valuable service which his father Harsha had rendered to Kshitipaladeva or Mahipala I in regaining the throne of Kanauj,[1] took full advantage of the difficulties of the central government for enhancing his political power, defied the Imperial authority and practically assumed the royal[2] state It will not be unreasonable to hold that with the accession of Yasovarman to the throne of the Chandella kingdom of Bundelkhand in A D. 925,[3] the disintegration of the Pratihara empire began and we agree with R S Tripathi,[4] when he observes that Yasovarman delivered, "a great blow to the prestige of the Pratiharas". The disruptive forces, which were let loose by the uncharitable act of Yasovarman, were ofcourse, kept under some control by Mahipala I, who was the last

1, Khajuraho Inscription, *E I*, vol I, p 121.
2. *E I*, vol I, p 132, V 23, (*"marut-Samjvaro Gurjaranam"*).
3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 83
4 *History of Kanauj*, p 272

important ruler of the Pratiharas, though it appears that during the closing years of his reign, his traditional enemies, the Rastrakutas despoiled him of the possession of the two forts of Kalanjara and Chitrakuta,[1] possibly, in close alliance with a third power, which was either the Kalachuris or Chandellas [2] Mahipala's successor Mahendrapala II struggled hard against heavy odds till A D 946[3] and after him was the deluge During the next fifteen years i e from A. D 946 to 960, there had been a continuous decline in the authority and power of the Pratihara emperors of Kanauj, owing to the great uncertainty of succession to the Imperial throne, and in fact it was a time for feudatories to make hay while the sun shines A number of succession states that arose out of the ruins of the Pratihara empire and which exercised de-facto sovereignty with in their jurisdictions were that of the Chahamanas, the Chaulukyas (Solankis), the Paramaras, the Chedis and the Chandellas

Siyaka II could not remain oblivious of the distressing condition of the Pratiharas of Kanauj and it appears that soon after his accession the first master stroke of his diplomacy was to transfer his political allegiance from the Pratiharas to the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta, which was a settled fact of history before A D 949 [4] The acceptance of the suzerainty of the Rastrakutas was merely nominal, a fact which is clear from Siyaka II's assumption of high sounding titles of *Maharajadhirajapati* and *Mahamandalika Cudamani*[5] in the earliest part of his reign This diplomatic move of Siyaka was designed not only to help the growth of an independent Paramara kingdom of Malwa under

1 Deoli Plate, V. 25, *E. I*, vol. V, p 188, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 37
2. *History of Kanauj*, p 267-68, *The Rashtrakutas and their times*, p 113, *J. O R*, vol, XVI, p 155-158
3 *E I*, vol XIV, p 176
4. *E I* vol XIX, p 236
5 *Ibid*, p 242

the protection of the Rastrakutas, as the Pratiharas of Kanauj had lost their Imperial position, but also to screen his future plans of territorial aggrandisement from the jealous eyes of other rising states of Northern India It is true that the power and influence of the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta was also on decline but so long as Krishna III occupied the imperial throne, the dismemberment of the Rastrakuta empire was postponed and it was only after his death in A D 967 that the disintegration began

It appears that Siyaka II inaugurated his brilliant campaign of conquest with his attack against the Calukyas of Saurastra-mandala As Saurastra or Kathiawar constituted a part of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire of Kanauj as early as the reign of Mihira Bhoja,[1] it is quite natural to think that the Calukyas were ruling their territories as feudatories of Kanauj The Harsola grant[2] informs us that some Yogaraja suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Paramara ruler, who in this campaign received a valuable cooperation from the ruler of Khetaka-mandala, his royal-brother in arms, as the latter was also a vassal of the imperial Rastrakutas [3] D. C Ganguly[4] identifies this Yogaraja with the Chalukya Avanivarman Yogaraja II, the ruler of Saurashtra, who was a feudatory of Mahendrapaladeva, the Pratihara emperor of Kanauj As in the Una[5] (Kathiawar) Plate dated in the Valabhi Samvat 574 and of the time of Mahendrapala, Balavarman, father of Yogaraja is referred to as Mahasamanta, the feudatory character of these Chalukya rulers may not be doubted The earliest known date of Avanivarman Yogaraja II

1 *I H. Q*, vol V, pp 129-135, *E I*, vol IX, pp 1 ff

2 *E I*, vol XIX, p 242, lines 9 and 13

3 *Ibid*, vol VII, p 45

4 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 39, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 95

5 *E I.*, vol. IX, pp. 1 ff

is A D 899[1] and if his identification with his name sake in the Harsola[2] plate is correct, he may be assigned a long reign of atleast half a century, a regnal period, which Ganguly does not consider of an absurd[3] length The victor on his return journey to his capital, encamped on the banks of the Mahi river and possibly in commemoration of his success against the enemy made a grant of land in favour of two Brahmanas Lallopadhyaya and his son Nina Diksita, who were residents of Anandapura [4]

The Navasahasanka-Carita credits Siyaka with the victory over the Huna princes, whom he exterminated and turned their harem into a dwelling-place for the widows [5] It can reasonably be inferred from this evidence that the Hunas offered a stubborn resistance to the aggressor and possibly died to the lastman on the battlefield, fighting against the enemy On the authority of Plate B of the three inscriptions from Gaori dated[6] V S 1088 (=A D 981), it appears that the Huna-mandala was situated to the north-west of Malava Balavarman, father of the Chalukya Avanivarman Yogaraja II of Saurashtra is referred to as having defeated and killed the Huna prince Jajjapa in battle [7] As the latest known date of Balavarman is A D 893,[8] it appears that he was the feudatory of Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj and Jajjapa was possibly the prince who ruled Huna-mandala in the second half of the ninth century A D It, therefore, follows that the Huna, chief who was defeated by Siyaka, was obviously one of the successors of Jajjapa

1 *Ibid*, p 2

2 *Ibid*, vol XIX, p 242

3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 39, Ref 5

4 *E I* vol XIX, p 243

5. " *Akankanam akeyuram anupuram amekhalam/Hunavarodham vaidhavya-diksadanam vyadhatta yah*" Sarga XI, V 90

6. *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 58 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 40.

7 *E I*, vol IX, p 8, V 17.

8. *Ibid*, vol IX, p 1

It may be pointed out that Siyaka II could not have that amount of luck on the north-east against the Chandellas of Jajakabhukti, which he enjoyed on the west against the Chalukyas and the Hunas, but on the contrary his zeal for territorial conquests brought him into a conflict with the former with in a period of about two years from his accession to the throne The Chandella ruler Yasovarman I, who had considerably increased his power and authority at the cost of the Pratiharas of Kanauj, proved to be a strong rival, at whose hands the Paramara ruler suffered a defeat, as in the Khajuraho Inscription he is referred to as, "God of Death to the Malavas *(Kalavan*[1] *Malavanam)*" As a result of this victory, Yasovarman pushed the western boundary of his kingdom upto Bhasvat (Vidisa) on the bank of the Malava river [2] D C Ganguly identifies this river with the Vetravati, modern Betwa [3]

Siyaka II though snubbed by the Chandellas, had considerably strengthened his position by his conquests and even then he never shirked from his fidelity to his Rastrakuta overlord Krishna III or his successor Khottiga There is no satisfactory evidence to show that in A D 963,[4] when Krishna III led a second expedition to Northern India, he defeated the Paramara ruler Siyaka and occupied Ujjayini, as believed by Altekar.[5] In two inscriptions af Marasimha dated A D, 965 and 968, his subordinates claim the credit of destroying Ujjayini *(Ujjayini-bhujanga)*, which may be taken nothing more than an empty boast on the part of the latter, for we do not see that Siyaka

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1 'कालवन्मालवानाम्' *E I.*, vol I, p 126, V. 23

2 *E I*, vol I, p 134, V. 45

3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 95

4 A S Altekar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 15, *The Rastrakutas and their times*, p 121; N. L Rao, *E I*, vol XIX, p 289, R C Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 38

5 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 15

gave any provocation to his overlord for an attack against him [1] It is true that during this campaign, his feudatory Ganga chief Marasimha created a name for himself by badly defeating the Gurjaras [2] This reference to the Gurjaras clearly shows that the Pratiharas of kanauj, as usual, were the main target of the Rastrakuta attack and probably Vijayapaladeva of the Rajor Inscription[3] was destined to suffer this humiliation. The interpretation of the word "Gurjara", as to mean a Paramara king is farfetched and unreasonable Khottiga,[4] who succeeded his brother Krishna III in A D 967 to the throne of Manyakheta was perhaps neither satisfied with the nominal allegiance of Siyaka nor the way in which he behaved practically as an independent sovereign. To him the growth of a powerful kingdom or Malwa appeared to be a potent danger to his own existence as the influence of the Rastrakutas in the South was on decline In fact, it was the rash and aggressive policy of Khottiga, which precipitated an unprovoked Paramara-Rastrakuta war, which ultimately adversely recoiled upon its creator During the preceding reign of Vairisimha II, the southern boundary of his kingdom extended upto the banks of the Narmada[5] and we know from the Panhera[6] inscription that the above battle was fought at Khalighatta, a place or a ford on that river The geographical position of the place of battle clearly proves that Siyaka was on the defence Had he been an aggressor, the battle would not have been fought on the southern boundary of

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1 *E C*, vol XI, Nos 23, 33
E I, vol XIX, p 287,

2 'कृष्णराजोत्तरदिग्विजयविदितगूर्ज्जराधिराजस्य .....।'
E I, vol V, pp 176, 179

3 *Ibid* vol III, p 266, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p 98, *Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed), p 149,

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 15, *Bom Gaz*, vol I, Pt II, p 422

5 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 94

6 *E I*, vol XXI, p. 42, *A S I*, 1916-17, Part I, p 19

his own kingdom but some where far with in the Rastrakuta empire, as we are not expected to believe that Khottiga had stationed a permanent standing army on his northern frontiers against the Paramaras D C Ganguly, who formerly[1] dubbed Siyaka as an aggressor is now a convert to our view [2] The Arthuna[3] and Panhera[4] Inscriptions indicate that in his war against the Rastrakutas, Siyaka received a valuable assistance from his Vagada feudatory Kanka, who not only made a notable contribution to the success of the Paramara arms but died, fighting valiantly on the battlefield Siyaka achieved a decisive victory over Khottiga and pursued the fleeing vanquished monarch upto Manyakheta, the capital of the Rastrakutas, which till was beyond the reach of a foreign army, was sacked and was surrendered to the victor. This happened in A D 972, the date which corresponds to one expressed in the Vikrama era in the Paiyalacchi, a work of Dhanapala It is referred to therein, that the poet completed this work" When one thousand years of the Vikrama era and twentynine besides had passed and at the time when Manyakheda (or Manyakheta) was plundered in consequence of an attack by the Lord of Malava.[5] Though Dhanapala does not specifically refer to the name of the Malava king, it can reasonably be presumed that he was no one else

1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 41, K M Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 111
2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 95
3 *"Arudho gaja prsthavahuta (ahata?)-Sa (Sa) r-asarai rane Sarvvatah Karnnatadhipatervva (bba) lam vidalayams tan Narmadayas tate Sri-Sriharsa-nrpasya Malava-pateh Krtva tathariksayam yah Svarggam Subhato yayau Sura-vadhu-netrotpala ir arccitah*/V 19, *E I*, vol XIV, p 299
4 *E I*, vol XXI, p 42
5 विक्कमकालस्स गए अउणत्तीसुत्तरे सहस्सम्मि ।
मालवनरिंद धाडीए लूडिए मन्नखेडम्मि ॥१९८॥
Edited by Buhler Paiyalacchi, Introduction, p 6, V 276, 277, 278

but Siyaka, as the Udayapur[1] Prasasti credits him as having taken, "in battle the wealth of king Khottiga" Padmagupta refers to Siyaka's victory against the Lord of Rudapati,[2] whom D C. Ganguly identifies with Khottiga[3] though there are no grounds for such an identification Accepting that Rudrapati has not been correctly identified so far,[4] K M Munshi still suggests the identification of the Lord of Rudrapati with Tailappa II, the Chalukya or his predecessor, an identification, which is equally doubtful Taila or Tailappa II, who was a feudatory of the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta, remained loyal to Krishna III, down to A. D 965[5] There is no evidence to show that he threw off the allegiance of the Rastrakutas even during the reign of Khottiga, though during this period he made elaborate but secret preparations[6] to wrest the imperial authority from the hands of his sovereign and it was only by the end of A D 973 that he openly revolted against the authority of Karkka As both Tailappa and Siyaka owed allegiance to the same sovereign till A D 972, there does not appear any ground for the latter to attack and defeat the former on behalf of his overlord, as believed by Munshi,[7] Mere plunder and occupation of Manyakheta did not satisfy Siyaka's revengeful spirit and, perhaps,he had a mischievous design of capturing the Rastrakuta emperor dead or alive, a fact, which is evident from his attempt to conquer the royal residence fixed in the capital. But, however, the Ganga chief Marasimha II came to the rescue of his overlord at this perilous hour and successfully defended the

1 *E I*, vol I, p 237, V 12
"*Smita-jyotsna-daridrena Vaspadhvena mukhenduna/Sasamsur Vijayam yasya Rudapati - pati-Striyah Navasahasanka-Carita,* Sarga XI, V 89

3 *History of Paramara Dynasty*, p 42

4 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 111

5 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 16

6 *Ibid*

7 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 111

royal person and palace against the enemy The Sravana[1] Belgola epigraph mentions," He (i e Marasimha II) by the strength of his arms (protected) the encampment of the emperor, when it was located at the city of Manyakheta".

It may be pointed out that the Siyaka-Khottiga war was an event of All-India resounding importance It dealt a death-blow to the stability and military resources of the mighty Rastrakuta empire, shattered its Imperial prestige and thus paved the way for its ultimate decline On the other hand, it helped the rise of an independent sovereign state of Malwa, which, for about three quarters of a century to come, was destined to play a significant role in the politics of the country Further, the rise of the Chalukyas of Kalyani as an imperial power may also be attributed to it, as this war, by breaking the back-bone of the Rastrakuta power, facilitated the task of Tailapa II to gain the political supremacy and leadership of the Deccan Another result was that the southern limits of the Paramara kingdom were probably, pushed forward upto the river Godavari[2] or the Tapti [3]

Khottiga died of a broken heart in A D 972[4] and Siyaka returned back to his capital with all grace and glory, only to become an ascetic If Padmagupta is to be believed he," clothed himself in the grass-robe of a royal sage" and practised austerities [5] Ripe age, failing health and impending death may be suggested as the possible causes for his change of outlook, as he did not survive long Khottiga and died sometime between A

1. *E I*, vol V, p 179
2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 44.
3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 95
4 *Ibid*, p 15
5. " *Vasikrtaksamalo yah Ksamam atyayatam dadhan/Rajasramam alamcakre rajarsih kusa-civarah / Navasahasanka - Carita*, Sarga XI, v 88.

D 972 and 973 [1] The poet refers to him a "Rajarsih" an expression, which does not allow us to draw an inference that he necessarily abdicated his throne in favour of his son Vakpatiraja Vadaja was his queen[2] and his another son was Sindhuraja *We may conclude that Siyaka was the real founder and consolidator of the Paramara kingdom of Malwa and he rightly deserves the credit of being its first Imperial sovereign*

Siyaka II was succeeded by his son[3] Vakpatirajadeva to the throne sometime between A D 972 and 974, as the earliest grant of the latter is dated V S 1031 (974 A D) and was issued from his royal residence at Ujjain The epigraphic records of Vakpati alias Amoghavarsha[4] and his nephew Bhojadeva,[5] where we find the expression *"Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parmesvar Sri Siyakadeva Padanudhyata Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parmèsvar Sri Vakpatirajadeva"*, clearly testify to the above succession and Ballala's[6] statement in his "Bhojaprabandha" that Munja succeeded Sindhula is erroneous Vakpati has been referred to by his three other names, namely Amoghavarsha in the Dharampuri[7] and Ujjain[8] Plates, Munja

1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 44

2 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga. XI, v 86

3 पुत्रस्तस्य...... .. ..श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेव .... ॥१३॥
E I, vol I, pp 233-238

4. *J. A S B*, vol XXX, pp. 195 ff, *I A*, vol VI, pp 51 ff,
J A S B., vol XIX, p 475 ff, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160.

5 *E I*, vol XI, pp 182-183, *I A*, vol VI, pp 49-54, *E I*, vol XVIII, p 320-324, 'Hindustani' Oct 1931, p 494-515

6 *Bhojaprabandha*, (Louis H Gray), p 13

7 *J A. S B*, vol XXX, pp 195 ff

8 *Ibid*, vol XIX, p 475 ff, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160

in the Nagpur[1] and Panahera[2] Inscriptions and Utpala[3] or Utpalaraja in the Navasahasanka-Carita There is also literary evidence to prove the identity of Vakpati with Munja Dhanapala[4] in his "Tilakamanjari" mentions that Munja had great love for his nephew Bhoja and that is why Vakpatiraja, the lord of earth appointed him as his crown-prince Dhanika, in his commentary Avaloka[5] on Dasrupaka attributes the same verse[6] at one place to Munja and at another place to Vakpatiraja Arjunavarman, the Paramara ruler of Malwa who came to the throne shortly before A D 1210[7] refers to in his work Rasikasamjivini, a commentary on Amarusataka, that Vakpatiraja, whose another name was Munja, was one of his predecessors [8] In the Prabandhas Merutunga[9] and Ballal[10] refer to him only by his name Munja, a fact, which may go to show that in the later times he was popularly known only by this very name Similarly Vakpati and Utpalaraja were names of one and the same king This identity is not only

1 *E I*, vol II, p 184, V 23

2 *An Report Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1916-17, pp 2 f

3 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, vv 92, 101

4 श्रीभोज इत्यात्मज ॥
प्रीत्या योग्य इति प्रतापवसति ख्यातेन मुंञ्जाख्यया ।
य स्वे वाक्पतिराजभूमिप तना राज्येभिषिक्त स्वयम् ॥४३॥

5 इति श्री विष्णुसूनो धनिकस्य कृतौ ।
दशरूपावलोके रस विचारो नाम चतुर्थ प्रकाश ।
Dasrupaka, (Govind Trigudayata), p 3

6 प्रणय कुपिता दृष्ट्वा देवी ससभ्रमविस्मितस्त्रिभुवनगुरु भीत्या सद्य प्रणामपरोऽभवत् ।
नमितशिरसो गगा लोके तया चरणाहता भवतु भवतस्यक्ष स्यैतद्विलक्षमवस्थितम् ।
Ibid, p 5

7 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 200

8 यथास्मत्पूर्वजस्य वाक्पतिराजापरनाम्नो मुञ्जदेवस्य

9 *Prabandhacintamani*, (C H. Tawney), p 30

10 *Bhojaprabandha*, (Louis H Gray), p 13

satisfactorily proved by the evidence of the Navasahasanka-Carita[1] but also by the fact that the authorship of a verse, which the Kashmirian poet Ksemendra ascribes to Utpalaraja, is attributed to Vakpatiraja by Vallabhadeva [2] Vakpati, possibly, in order to commemorate his father's victory over Khottiga, took additional Imperial Rastrakuta titles[3] of Srivallabha and Prthvivallabha [4]

Vakpati or Munja and Sindhala[5] or Sindhula[6] or Sindhuraja[7] were brothers, a fact, which admits no doubt Padmagupta refers to Vakpati as the elder brother of Sindhuraja, who followed him (on the throne) after his death [8] In view of this contemporary evidence Ballal's[9] assertion that Munja was the younger brother of Sindhula is incorrect Padmagupta is supported by Dhanapala, who mentions Bhoja as the son of the younger brother of Munja [10] Merutunga refers to king Simhadantabhata (Siyaka II) who advised Munja, at the time of bestowing the kingdom upon him to, "live on good terms with this brother of yours named Sindhala" [11]

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1 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga I, vv 6-7, Sarga XI, vv 92, 101

2 घनोद्यानच्छायामिव मरुपथाद्दावदहनात्तषाराम्भोवापीमिव विषविपाकादिवसुधाम् ।
प्रवृद्धादुन्मादात्प्रकृतिमिव निस्तीर्य विरहाल्लभेय त्वद्भक्ति निरुपमरसा शकर कदा ॥

Subhasitavali, 559, 3414

3 *E I*, vol VIII, App II, p 2

4 *I A*, vol VI, p 51; vol XIV, p. 160

5 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 30

6 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 13

7 *E I*, vol XI, p 182-183

8 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga I, vv 6-7

9. *Bhojaprabandha*, p 13

10. *Tilakamanjari*, v. 43

आकीर्णांघ्रितल सरोजकलशच्छत्रादिभिर्लाञ्छनै -
स्तस्याजायत मासलायुतभुज श्रीभोज इत्यात्मज. ॥

11. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 31

Merutunga narrates an interesting story[1] about the birth of Munja, which makes him a foundling and Sindhala, a natural son of king Simhadantabhata As a new born male child of exceeding beauty was discovered in a thicket of munja grass by the king, while he was once on his royal circuit, and who was till then issueless, the baby derived his name from the place of his origin Even the subsequent birth of a natural son did not-shake the king's affection for Munja, who was a repository of "all good qualities" [2] He was so pleased with his devotion to him that he deprived his natural son of his legal claim to the throne and crowned Munja as his successor. As this behaviour of Simhadantabhata appears to be unusual and also against human nature and sentiments, much reliance may not be placed upon this information In fact, in the absence of any corroborative evidence,[3] the entire story or legend may be rejected as unhistorical, a view, which is shared by Buhler[4] and Munshi.[5] The truth appears to be that Vakpati-Munja and Sindhuraja were uterine brothers,[6] a fact referred to by Ballal Pandit.

The accession of Vakpati-Munja on the throne marked the beginning of an important epoch in the history of Malwa Like Frederick the great of Prussia, he had inherited a compact kingdom with a strong government and promoted cultural and intellectual activities, a movement, which reached its culminating point during the reign of his nephew Bhojadeva As an enlightened despot, social welfare of his subjects, received his first attention, with the result that not only the economic prosperity of the people of Malwa grew but they were knitted

1 *Ibid*, p 30

2. *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 30-31

3. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 48

4 *Navasahasanka-Carita* (Buhler and Zachariae), p 40

5 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 112

6 *Bhojaprabandha* p 13

together into a strong nation Parpata[1] and Rudraditya[2] were his ministers and Mahaika[3] and Dhanika[4] occupied the important government offices of Mahasadhanika and Mahasadhyapala respectively

Vakpati conformed himself to chivalrous traditions of his age and on coming to the throne entered upon a career of conquest and territorial expansion, which brought him into conflict with several neighbouring ruling dynasties Aa the Udayapur-Prasasti[5] specifically mentions his victory over Yuvaraja, who was no one else but Yuvaraja II, the Kalachuri king of the Chedi country from about A. D 975 to 1000.[6] It is clear that this was his crowning military achievement Yuvaraja II, was a weak ruler and lacked those martial qualities, which distinguished his father, with the result that veterans like Munja and Taila II attacked his kingdom and carried on raids in the Chedi country But he contributed much to the development of his capital and tried to make Tripuri a beautiful town The expression,[7] "purified the town of Tripuri so that it was like Indra s city" confirms the truth of the above statement Tripuri may be identified with the modern town of Tewar, which is only six miles west of Jabalpur in the Madhya Pradesh The battle for Tripuri was a fierce and bloody one and the reason was that while on one

1 .. ..श्रीमुजराजार्चित ॥३॥ श्रीसिंधुराजस्य महत्तमेन श्रीपर्पटेनार्चितपादपद्म
Jain Sahitya Aur Itihas, p 183

2. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160

3 *I A*, vol XIV, p. 160

4 H. H Wilson, "*Select Specimens of the Theater of the Hindus,*" 1835, p XX.

5 *E I*, vol I, pp 233-238
युवराज विजित्याजौ हत्वा तद्वाहिनीपतीन् ।
खड्गमूर्द्धीकृत येन त्रिपुर्या विजिगीषुणा ॥१५॥

6 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*. p 49, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 112, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 91

7 *E I*, vol XII, p 215

hand the Kalachuris tried to save the fall of their beautiful capital and its devastation by the enemy, the Paramara invader, with all the strength at his command, was determined to occupy it Yuvaraja appears to have fled from his capital on the approach of the Paramaras,[1] though some of his generals made the supreme sacrifice of their lives to save the city, but in vain Munja entered Tripuri with all splendour, held it for sometime and the inscription[2] records that he, "conquering Yuvaraja and slaying his generals, as Victor, raised on high his sword in Tripuri" The Kauthem grant of the western Chalukya Vikramaditya V corroborates this statement of the Udayapur Prasasti, where it is mentioned that Utpala destroyed the power of the Chaidyas i e the people of Chedi[3] The victory over the Kalachuris would have definitely enhanced the imperial prestige of the Paramaras, though it did not result in any loss of territory to the former[4]

After his successful campaign on the east, Vakpati-Munja directed his arms to the north-west against numerous states in Rajputana, where his achievements were equally significant The Guhilas or Guhilots of Medapata or Mewad were the first to bear the brunt of his attack under their king Naravahana or his son and successor Saktikumara The latter, who flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century A D and who was definitely on the throne in A D 977,[5] was in all likelihood the prince, who suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the Paramaras Possibly, following the same military tactics, which he employed against Yuvaraia, Munja attacked, plundered, and captured Aghața, the capital of Mewad, which may be identified, with modern Ahar,[6]

1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 96

2 *E I* vol I, pp 233-238, V 15

3 *I A*, vol XVI p 23, lines 41-42

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* p 96

5 *E I*, vol VIII, App. I, p 13

6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 96, *E I*, vol X, p 20

in Udayapur, Rajputana The severety of the imperialistic attack may well be estimated from the fact that not only the Guhilot elephant forces were annihilated, but the vanquished chief was compelled to leave his kingdom and had to run for life to the Rashtrakuta Dhavala of Hastikundi [1] Thus the kingdom of Mewad lay prostrate at the feet of the victor, but only Chitorgarh, together with the areas, which were contiguous to Malwa, possibly, permanently constituted a part of the Paramara kingdom [2]

This success not only whetted the appetite of Munja for further territorial conquests but involved him soon into a conflict with the Chahamanas of Naddula, modern Nadol in Jodhpur, Rajasthan Both the literary[3] and epigraphic[4] evidence points out that Balirajadeva,[5] the reigning monarch of Marwar suffered initial reverses at the hands of the enemy, with the result that the latter secured a strong footing in that country It appears that having consolidated their conquests, the Paramaras launched a determined attack to capture Naddula, the Marwar capital. At this time Baliraja rose to the occasion and not only successfully

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1 Bijapur Inscription of Dhavala of Hastikundi, vv 9, 10, *E I*, vol X, p 20

"Dha (va) lo Vasudha-vyapi camdrad iva camdrika-nikarah// bhamktv-Aghatam ghatabhih prakatam iva madam Medapate bhatanam Janye rajanya-janye Janayati Janatajam ranam Munjaraje (Sri) mane (pra) naste harina iva bhiya Gurjjarese vinastetat - Samyanam Sa (Sa) ranyo harir iva Sarane yah Suranam Va (ba) bhuva//'

2 *Nagri Pracharini Patrika*, Part 3, p 5

3 *J Bo Br*, vol XVI, p 173, *"Tatra Sthitam Sthitimata Varadeva daivad bhrtyena te cakita-cittam iyamtyahani/ Utkampini Stana- tate harineksananam Haran pranarttayati yatra bhavat-pratapah//*

4 Kauthem grant of the Chalukya Vikramaditya V, records that, at the approach of Utpala, the people of Marwar trembled *I A*, vol XVI, p 23, lines 41-42

5 *E I*, vol IX, p 75

defended his capital against the onslaughts of the enemy but defeated and dispersed the army of Munja.[1] It is true that Baliraja won laurels at the battle of Naddula, but possibly could not retrieve the loss of territory to the enemy. It is difficult for us to mark out the exact limits of the territory actually lost, though curiously enough, D C Ganguly[2] had drawn a partition programme of the newly conquered territory amongst the Paramara princes, on the basis of a doubtful evidence, a view, which has been totally accepted by K M Munshi.[3] The learned scholar, identifying Utpalaraja of the Vasantagarh[4] inscription of Purnapala dated V S 1099, where he is referred to as the founder of the royal Paramara house of Abu, with Utpalaraja[5] (Munja) of Malwa, has propounded a theory that in course of his conflict with the Chahamanas, Munja conquered Mount Abu, which constituted a part of the kingdom of Marwar,[6] though there is no direct evidence in support of this conclusion It is further contended that he entrusted his son Aranyaraja[7] with the administration of the conquered province of Arbudamandala, a view, which has also found favour with H C Ray.[8] But a critical examination of the entire relevant evidence shows that the view is not very well founded

1 The Sundha hill Inscription. ."*Balirajadevo yo Mumjaraja-sya (ba) la-bhamgam acikarat tam* . V. 7", *E I*, vol IX, p 75

2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 22, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 96

3 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 156.

4 *E I*, vol IX, pp 10-15, An unpublished Inscription of a Paramara king of *Abu Ann Report Raj Museum* 1932, p 2-3

5 *Navasahasanka-Carita, I A*, vol XXXVI, p 163, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 47

6 *E I*, vol IX, p 75, V 7

7. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 22

8. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol II, p 854, 909.

A perusal of the genealogical table[1] of the Paramara rulers of Abu shows that Mahipala was the sixth ruler of this line, though G H. Ojha considers him the fifth [2] There is no doubt about this as Partipal Bhatia, who has examined the original grant, which is now being edited by Sadhuram, is also convinced that Mahipala was actually the sixth ruler of this house [3] The other five rulers, who preceded Mahipala were Sindhuraja, Utpalaraja Aranyaraja, Krishnaraja (I) and Dharanivaraha Sindhuraja is referred to as a ruler of 'Marumandala' in an inscription dated V S 1218, and which is discovered at Kiradu [4] Is he identical with Sindhuraja Navasahasanka, the younger brother of Utpalaraja-Munja ? Our reply is in the negative Firstly, he is referred to as a ruler of Marwar and not of Malwa Secondly, Utpalaraja of the Vasantagarh[5] Inscription, if Bhandarkar's reading of the name Usa (tpa)[6]la is correct, appears to be the son and successor of Sindhuraja, a thing which is inconsistent with the ancestry of Utpalaraja-Munja If the two Utpalarajas are identical, we fail to understand how the same person could be the son and the elder brother of the same person at the sametime Thirdly, Utpalaraja of the Abu line could never be a contemporary of Utpalaraja-Munja The last known date of Utpalaraja-Munja is V S 1050 (=993 A D),

1 An unpublished grant *(Ann Rep Rajputana Museum*, 1932, p 2-3)

2 *I H Q* , vol 34 (1958), p 175

3 *I H Q* , vol XXXIV, (1958), p 175

4 'सिन्धुराजो महाराज समभून्मरुमण्डले'

Bisheswaranath Reu, *Raja Bhoja* (Hindi), p. 9, Nahar, *Jaina-lekha-Samgraha*, vol I, p 251-53.

5 *E I* , vol. IX, pp 10-15

6. *Bhandarkar's list* p 47, No 312

when Amitagati completed his Subhasitaratna Samdoha[1] The Chalukya Taila II of the Deccan, the destroyer of Munja died[2] sometime betweenA D. 997-998 A D It is therefore clear that Utpalaraja-Munja met his death sometime between A D 993 and 998 An inscription, though not published,[3] of Mahipala dated V S 1059 shows that he was on the throne of Abu in the year A D 1002, Further, it is also known to us that Dharanivaraha,[4] the immediate predecessor[5] of Mahipala, when defeated by Mularaja, the Chaulukya king of Anahilavada and who was a contemporary[6] and a rival of Munja, took shelter whith Dhavala, the Rashtrakuta ruler of Hastikundi As the inscription of Dhavala was issued in A D 997, Dharanivaraha must have suffered this defeat before that date Under these circumstances either Dharanivaraha or at the most Mahipala may have been a contemporary of Utpalaraja-Munja Utpalaraja is the fifth in the lineal ascent from Mahipala If we assign a moderate period of twenty five years to each reign, he must have flourished about V S 934 (A D 877)

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1 समारूढे पूतत्रिदशवर्सति विक्रमनृपे
सहस्त्रे वर्षाणा प्रभवति हि पचादशधिके (पचदशाधिके)
समाप्ते पचम्यामवति धरणि मुञ्जनृपतौ
सिते पक्षे पौषे बुधहितमिद शास्त्रमनघम् ॥९२२॥
(सुभाषित रत्नसन्दोह)
Ed by Bhavadatta Sastri and Parab, Bombay, 1903, *Kavyamala series*, No 82

2 Buhler, *E I*. vol I, p 228, K M Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* p 161, D C Ganguly, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 97, *Bom Gaz* , vol I, Part II, p 432

3 G H Ojha, *Rajputane-ka-Itihas*, p 193

4 Bijapur Inscription of Dhavala of Hastikundi, VV 9-10, *E I*, vol X, p 20

5 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 170

6 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 163, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 104.

It may be pointed out that both the views of D C Ganguly, namely the identification of Utpalaraja with Utpalaraja Munja and that Aranyaraja was a son of the latter are inter-related to each other and if the former falls to the ground, the latter naturally fails In fact, it was not Aranyaraja, who may have flourished about V. S 959 (=902 A D) but his grandson Dharanivaraha or perhaps even his great-grandson Mahipala was a contemporary of Utpalaraja-Munja

D C Ganguly[1] further holds that Vakpati-Munja appointed one of his sons Chandana as the Governor of Jabalipura, modern Jalor in Jodhpur, Rajasthan Before we proceed further, it will be proper to consider the problem whether Munja died childless or had any son or sons As there is no reference to it in the records of the contemporary writers namely Padmagupta and Dhanapala, it appears that probably he died issueless, a view, which is shared by some of the scholars[2] But the difficulty in accepting it is mainly two-fold Firstly, the evidence of the Prabandhas, in this connection, is not in conformity with it Secondly, the Jalor[3] Inscription of Visala dated V S 1174 (=1117 A D) facilitates the identification of Vakpatiraja of the Jalor Branch with Vakpatiraja-Munja of Malwa Both Merutunga and Ballal Pandit though refer to the existence of the sons of Munja, they do not agree to their exact number While the former thinks that he had only one son,[4] the latter refers to more than one[5] Visala is the seventh in the lineal

1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 22-23, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 96, K M Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 156

2 *I H Q*, vol XXXIV, (1958), p 176, *Raja Bhoja* (Hindi), p 31

3 *I A*, vol LXII, p 41, *Prog Rep of the Archaeo Surv*, Western circle, 1909, p 54

4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32

5 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 22

descent from Vakpatiraja and if we assume 1117 A D as the year of his accession and allow a period of twenty-five years to each generation, the period of Vakpati's reign falls between A D 972 and 997 Another fact, which may indirectly go to show that Vakpatiraja-Munja was the founder of this line of Paramara princes, is that Malaradevi, the queen of Visala installed a golden jar in the temple of Sindhurajesvara [1] It is just possible that this temple might have been constructed by some member of this royal house in commemoration of the memory of Sindhu-raja, the younger brother of Vakpati-Munja It can, therefore, reasonably be asserted that Munja wrested Jabalipura from the Chahamanas of Naddula and put that territory under the rule of his only son Chandana

Certain scholars think[2] that Vakpati-Munja appointed his nephew Dusala, son of Sindhuraja to govern Bhillamala or Srimala, modern Bhinmal, in Jodhpur and whose authority extended upto Balmer on the west [3] Bhandarkar reads the name of the successor of Sindhuraja as Usa (tpa) la [4] As there is not the least reference, either in the Prabandhas or in the Navasaha-sanka-Carita and Tilakamanjari, to the birth of another son other than Bhoja, to Sindhuraja, we are not inclined to accept Dusala as an elder brother of Bhoja Sindhuraja of the Kiradu[5] Inscription may be identical with the first ruler of the Paramara house of Abu and as such Dusala may be the younger brother

1 *I A*, vol. LXII, p. 41

2 D C Ganguly, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 96, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 23, K M. Munshi. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 156, H C Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol II, p 925-26

3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 23, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 156

4 *Bhandarkar's List*. No 312

5. *Nahar. Jaina-lekha-Samgraha*, vol I, p 251-53, *Bhandarkar's List* No 312.

of Utpalaraja It is probable that territories of both the Arbuda—mandala and the Marumandala might have been under the rule of Sindhuraja and while the former was inherited by Utpalaraja, the latter went to Dusala

It appears that in course of his successful military campaign in Rajputana, Vakpati-Munja came into conflict with the Hunas of Huna-mandala, destroyed their power and won a decisive victory over them The event is referred to in the Kauthem[1] grant and which mentions that Utpala (i e Munja) destroyed the lives of the Hunas This epigraphic evidence further leads us to infer that the Hunas put up a stubborn resistance against the invader, with the result that they had to suffer a great loss of life. It is difficult for us to locate the exact geographical position of the Huna-mandala but in all likelihood it must have been in the north-west of Rajasthan [2]

It is clear from the literary evidence that Munja, the lord of Malava defeated some Gurjara king and deprived him of his kingdom and fortunes Padmagupta gives a graphic and a touching description of the distressing condition of that Gurjara king, who had taken refuge 'in the forests of Marwad '[3] The

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1 *I A*, vol XVI, p 23 lines 41-42

2 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 157

3 "*aharam na karoti nambupibati Strainam na Samsevate*
Sete yat sikatasumukta-visayas camdatapam Sevate/
Tvat-pad-abja-rajah-prasada-kanika-la bhonmukhas tanmarau
manye Malava-Simha Gurjara- patis-tivram tapas tapyate//
Magnani dvisatam kulani Samaretvatkha dga-dharakule
nathasminn-iti bamdivaci bahuso deva Srutayam pura/
mugdha Gurjara-bhumipala-mahisi pratyasaya pathasah
Kamtare cakita vimumcati muhuh patyuh krpane drsau//

J B B. R A S, vol XVI, pp 173-4 These versus of Padmagupta or Parimala are quoted by the Kashmirian poet Ksemendra in *Aucitya*-vicara-carca (Kavyamala Edn 136 ff).

Hastikundi[1] Inscription of Rashtrakuta Dhavala states that after the Gurjara king had been destroyed, *(Gurjarese vinashte)* Munja destroyed Aghata whose armies sought protection from Dhavala Two facts are clear Firstly, the defeat of the Gurjara king preceded the plunder of Aghata and as such it should be regarded as one of the earliest military achievements of the Paramara ruler. Secondly, the Gurjara king, obviously being pursued by the enemy, first found shelter in the forests of Marwad and then with Dhavala It was only the conquest of Marwad, which compelled the Gurjara king to seek a better and an adequate shelter Some scholars identify this Gurjara king with Mularaja I,[2] the Chaulukya king of Anahilavada, an identification which requires a further critical examination In the inscription of Dhavala, the lord of the Gurjjaras is clearly distinguished from Mularaja and the latter is referred to as "having a powerful army" and "being intoxicated with pride"[3] If they are identical, why they have been referred to separately in the inscription Moreover, how the Gurjara king, who had to run for life from one place to the other, could be identical with one, who possessed sufficient military strength We discussed earlier, that Dharanivaraha, the Paramara ruler of Abu was a contemporary of Vakpati-Munja and as such Mularaja,[4] who is credited with having defeated Dharanivaraha, was a rising star in the political horizon of Northern India Mularaja, who had carved out a small principality for himself in the Sarasvata-mandala with the strength of his own arms ruled, possibly, as an independent ruler, as can be inferred from his title of "Maharajadhiraja", referred to in his earliest inscription

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1 *E I*, vol X, p. 20 ff; *I A*, vol XVI, p 23, lines 41-42

2 D C Ganguly, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 104, 96; K M Munshi, *Imperial Gurjaras* (Ist Ed), p 113, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (Ist Ed.), p 12

3 य मूलादुदमूलयद्गुरुबल श्रीमूलराजो नृपो दर्प्पान्धो

E I, vol. X, 20 ff

4 *E I*, vol X, 20 ff

dated A D 942 [1] It is clear from his grants[2] dated A D. 974, 987 and 995 that for the next three decades, which incidently cover the entire period of Munja's reign, Mularaja sat quietly in Sarasvata-mandla and could only add a small mandala, namely Satyapura-mandala, to his kingdom In fact, his kingdom was too small and insignificant to attract the attention of an imperialistic ruler like Munja [3]

Moreover, the word "*Gurjarabhumipala*",[4] applied to the Gurjara king by Padmagupta, could not be taken to refer to Mularaja, as the mere occupation of the Sarasvata-mandla, a part of Modern Gujarat would not have entitled him to be called "king of Gurjara" in the 10th century We know that Siyaka occupied north Gujarat for sometime but the Paramaras were never called Gurjaras [5] It is of interest to point out that at no time upto the death of Mahipala II (A D 956)[6] the Pratihara ruler of Kanauj, was another ruler referred to as the Gurjara. It is true that in A D 974 the Pratihara empire of Kanauj was a mere shadow of its past glory and its emperor was a figure-head, there is no evidence to show that the old title ceased to be appended to the latter we therefore, think that it was Pratihara Vijayapala (A D 960-1018) to whom the word "*Gurjarabhumipala*" has been referred to

Vakpati-Munja is also credited with a successful campaign against Lata and his victory over the people of that country is

1 चौलुक्किकान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्री मूलराज । ....
... .निजभुजोपार्जित सारस्वतमण्डलो... .

E I, vol IV, p. 191 f.

2 *I. A*, vol VI, p 191, *E I*, vol X, p 76, *Bharatiya Vidya*, (Hindi-Gujarati), vol I, p 82.

3 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed), p 163,

4 *J B B. R A S*, XVI, pp 173-4

5 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed.), Chap VII, Ref 29.

6 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol I, 590 ff and 611

recorded in the Udayapur[1] Prasasti Barappa, a scion of the Chaulukya ruling family and the general of the Chaulukya Taila II of the Deccan, who held the country[2] on behalf of his over-lord, was destined to suffer this reverse D C Ganguly[3] and K M Munshi think that the conquered territory was temporarily annexed to the Paramara kingdom He is also referred to as having vanquished the Keralas and the Cholas [5] a claim which appears nothing more than a conventional hyperbolic praise The chola kings, Madhurantaka Uttama chola[6] (A D 973-985) and Rajaraja I [7] (A D 985—1012) were contemporaries of Munja. It is difficult for us to believe that the Paramara conqueror would have undertaken military campaigns in those distant regions, when his hands were full nearer home The name of the prince, who was at this time on the throne of the Cera country is not known to us According to Halayudha,[8] Munja defeated the king of Champa

But the most formidable foe of Vakpati-Munja was Taila II, also known as Tailapadeva,[9] Tailappa and Tailappayya,[10] who after over throwing the Rashtrakuta Karkka II in A D 973-74,

1 "*Karnata - Lata - Kerala - Cola - Siro-ratna-ragi pada-Kamalah|*
Yos ca pranayi - ganarthita – data Kalpadruma - prakhyah|
E I, vol I, p 235, V 14.

2. *Bom Gaz* , vol I, Part I, p 159

3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 56-57

4 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) p. 158

5 *E I*, vol I, p 235, V 14

6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 156

7 *E I.* vol VIII, App II, p 22

8 जयति भुवनैकवीर सीरायुधतुलितविपुलवलविभव ।
अनवरतवित्तवितरणनिर्जितचम्पाधिपोमुज ॥
Halayudha's commentary on Pingalacharya's Chhandasastram (Kavyamala Series, 91) p. 34.

9. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33.

10 *The Struggle for Empire*, p 161

established his authority over the Deccan, with Manyakheta as his capital It is of interest to point out that both the rivals assumed supreme royal powers almost at the same time, struggled against each other almost through out their lives, though in the end the latter got the better of the former It appears that this enemity was the outcome of Taila II's desire to assert his supremacy over Malwa, which formerly formed a part of the Rashtrakuta empire, as he considered himself the master of the whole of that empire [1] D C Ganguly has tried to establish on the basis of the evidence of the Nilgund[2] inscription dated Saka 904 (=A D 982) that Vakpati-Munja, who is referred to therein as Utpala, suffered a serious reverse, at the hands of Tailapa in or sometime before that date [3] We don't agree with the learned scholar as there appears nothing to justify such a conclusion We suggest some more reasonable inferences, which can be drawn from the passage under discussion, and which are Firstly, king Utpala (Munja) had attained a prominent position among his royal contemporaries, a fact which was recognised even by his adversary and Secondly, he was conscious of the danger, which the immense strength of Tailapa could present to him Merutunga, who used Munjarasa, a poem in Apabhramsa, which is now lost to us and of which two verses have been quoted by Hemachandra,[4] as the base of his Munja-Prabandha in the Prabandhacintamani, refers to this hostility between the two sovereigns [5] According to him Munja inflicted defeat after defeat upon Tailappa for no less

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1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 96

2 *"Yasya Srutvabhidhanam Sakala-ripu-nrpanika-nirmmulanottham*
Kim (ka) rttavyam Kva yama (h) kva ca vasatir iti vvyakulas cintayanti/
Cod Andhradhisa-Pandy-Otpala mahipatayo yena Cambhodhi-Sima Ksma rama svikrta yohasati nrpa-gunair adirajan Naladin//
E I, vol IV, p. 206, lines, 7, 8, 9

3. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 58

4 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) pp 158-59

5. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33

than six times,[1] a fact, which is corroborated to a certain extent by the Udayapur Prasasti, which records his victory over the Karnata army[2] But the repeated reverses of Tailapa did not dishearten him and he continued to harass Munja by sending raiders into his country Munja who was naturally tired of these Chalukya incursions decided to punish the invader severely once for all On getting the news of royal determination, Rudraditya, the prime minister,[3] though was down with illness at that time endeavoured his best to dissuade his master from starting on that expedition, but with no success In despair, Rudraditya advised Munja to make the river Godavari the utmost limit of his expedition and not to advance beyond it, whatever might happen. But Munja, who was puffed up with his earlier successes against the enemy, paid no heed to the advice of his minister and in his over—weening confidence crossed Godavari and pitched his camp on the other side On receipt of this news the faithful minister Rudraditya, who augured that a dire calamity would befall his master, "entered the flames of a funeral pile"[4] This last and final battle went in favour of Tailappa due to his superior military strength and strategy Munja fell a captive in the hands of the victor, who administered him the first dose of humiliation by binding him with a rope of munja—grass. In this war Tailappa received a valuable assistance from his yadava feudatory Bhillama II,[5] who in his sangamner copper plate inscription[6] claims the credit of having crushed the military force of the great king Munja He is described as an "ornament of the yadu race, attended

1 *Ibid*

2 *E. I*, vol I, p. 235, V. 14

3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p. 33

4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33

5 *E I*, vol XIX, p 69, *Bom Gaz*, vol I, pt II, p 513,

6 *E I*, vol II, p 218
"*(Sve) narati - karala - kala-ra(ca)na-canda (si)-dandena yo hatva Mumja-mahanrpa-pranayinim Samgrama* . . '

by the fortune of valour—(and) a pain in the head of the Malavas".[1]

It is clear from Merutunga's account that Tailappa humiliated and insulted Munja in every possible way, confined him in a wooden[2] cage and finally detained him in the prison of his capital During the period of his confinement, Munja was waited upon by Mrinalavati, a sister of Tailappa and after sometime they fell in love with each other Munja's ministers, who were anxious for his release from the subterranean cell, where he was kept, subsequently went there in disguise and were able to establish contact with their master A day was fixed for the execution of a secret plan for his rescue but Munja insisted on taking Mrinalavati with him to his own country, as he was unable to endure separation from her Ultimately he divulged his secret to Mrinalavati, who betrayed him by informing her brother about the plan, which was frustrated by Tailappa As a result of the detection of the plan, Munja was exposed to special scorn and humiliation and was forced to beg from door to door. Soon after this he was executed on the orders of Taila [4] K M Munshi thinks that the captive king died not at the stake but under the feet of Tailappa's elephant.[5]

It is true that Munja was a gay lover[6] and had a romantic career, there does not appear much truth in the love—story of Munja and Mrinalavati as narrated by Merutunga Firstly, there was sufficient disparity in the ages of the two Mrinalavati was an old lady with a wrinkled face and grey hair, who bemoaned

1 *E I*, vol XV, p 37

2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33

3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 34

4 *Ibid*, p 34-35

5. Gujarat and its literature, p 63

6 Padmagupta, *Navasahasanka-Carita*, J Bom Br. RAS, vol XVI, I, 1 /4, Munja is referred to as *"Srngara-taramgini-kulagire"* and *"yuvati-pratyaksa Kandarpa"*

her departed youth, while Munja was still youthful [1] Secondly, Mrinalavati was a widow [2] Under these circumstances, it is difficult to think how Munja would have fallen in love with her. However one possiblity could not be ruled out As adversity makes strange bed—fellows, Munja, inorder to regain his freedom, might have made a show of love to Mrinalavati. Besides this, it is also doubtful whether Mrinalavati was a sister of Tailappa [3]

There is no doubt that Merutunga's account of Munja's overthrow and execution is authentic in its main details, as it is corroborated by the epigraphic records of the Chalukyas The kauthem grant of Vikramaditya V records that Utpala was cast into prison by his grand father Tailappa [4] Similarly, Vikramaditya VI boasts in his Gadag[5] inscription that the valiant Munja was killed by his remote predecessor, Tailappa The A' in--i—Akbari further corroborates it by stating that Munja lost his life in the wars of the Deccan [6] Ballala Pandit's view that Munja had a perfect peaceful end and he, after seating Bhoja on his lion-throne, retired to the forest with his chief queen for penances, is not worthy of credence [7]

It will not be out of place to add a few words about Tailappa's conduct. His treatment of Munja deserves severe condemnation, as it was contrary to the old Indian ideals of Dharmayuddha If the Karnata king would have emulated the example of Alexander and had treated Munja the same way as that Great

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1 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33

2 *Ibid* p 34

3 *Raja Bhoja (Hindi)*, p 30

4 "*utpalah yenatyugra-ranagra-darsita-va(ba)la-pracuryya-Sauryo dayah Karagara-nivesitah .*" *I A*, vol XVI, p 23

5 *E I*, vol XV, p 350, v 2

6 *A'-in-i-Akbari* (Jarrett), p 276

7 *Bhojaprabandha*, p. 22

Macedonian emperor treated the elder Poros, he possibly, not only had created permanent bonds of friendship between the two premier kingdoms, but also had set an healthy example for the Indian rulers, who were fighting like cocks among themselves, and thereby had contributed much to the cause of his motherland

Vakpati-Munja combined in himself the martial qualities of a high order and an ardent devotion to the muses He was learned, had completely studied the Sastras, cultivated high poetry, possessed the beautiful art of reasoning and hadan excellent gift of the gab [1] Padmagupta refers to him as "the root from which that heavenly creeper, Sarasvati, springs" [2] We have not been able to discover any literary work of Munja but his verses are quoted in works on poetry The Kashmiri poet Kshemendra, who wrote about fifty years after his death, in his works Suvrittatilaka, Kavikanthabharana and Auchitya-vicharacharcha quotes three different stanzas composed by Utpalaraja [3].

The presence of the literary luminaries of the time in the court of Vakpati-Munja is a sufficient proof of the fact that he was a patron of the learned His patronage and his liberality in giving rewards to scholars and poets attracted them to his court Padmagupta, who was his chief court poet,[4] laments over his death that it was "only by his grace" that they treaded

1 Udayapur Prasasti, V 13, *E I*, vol I, p 237

2 *J B. B R A S*, vol XVI, p 174

3 *Dasarupakam*, (N S 1828), p 102, 103, *Kavyamala*, Pt 2, ed Durgaprasad and Parab, Bombay, 1886, 37, *Ibid*, Pt 4, 1887, 125, *Ibid* Pt I, 2nd ed 1893, 131, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed), p 162, *Navasahsanka-Carita*, (Buhler and Zachariae) p 42, *Chronology of India* (Duff), p 100

4. *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga I, v 6,

the path, "which mighty poets trode before"[1] them. Bhatta Halayudha, another court-poet, who wrote a commentary Mritasangivani on Pingala's work on metrics, praises him, "as the tree of paradise that grants the wishes of all suppliants".[2] The Udayapur Prasasti also extols his lavish gifts to the numerous suppliants[3] Being an "Inspirer of noble[4] arts", other poets, who adorned his court were Dhananjaya, author of Dasarupaka, a treatise on dramaturgy, and his brother Dhanika, who wrote commentaries on the last-named work styled Dasarupavaloka and Kavyanirnaya, Dhanapala[5] the author of the lexicon Paiyalachchhi and Tilakamanjari, Amitagati, author of Subhasitaratna-Sandoha, and Sobhana[6]

Vakpati-Munja's generosity manifested itself also in the form of grants of lands to temples and to the learned Brahmana teachers for their maintenance He made a grant of the village Sembalapuraka to the goddess Bhattarika Bhattesvari, the presiding deity of Ujjayani The grant was issued in the year V S. 1036 (=979 A D),[7] with the object of providing for the worship of the goddess in the temple and for keeping the building in repair It was executed at Bhagavatpura, where was the royal camp, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse

1 *J B B R A S*, vol XVI, p 174.

2 'अनवरतवित्तवितरणनिर्जित ....॥'
'स जयति, वाक्पतिराज सकलार्थिमनोरथैककल्पतरु ।'
Halayudha's commentary on Pingalacharya's Chhandasastram (Kavyamala Series, 91), p 34

3. *E I*, vol I, p 237 The Prasasti refers to him as one "who possessed the fame of a tree of paradise, since he granted to a crowd of suppliants whatever they desired"

4 *J B B R A S*, vol XVI, p 174

5 *Navasahasanka-Carita* (Buhler and Zachariae), p 42

6 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) p 162 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 97

7 *I A*, vol XIV, p 160

In matters of making grants to the learned, Vakpati-Munja did not discriminate between them on the ground of domicile and even those, who were not his subjects but had migrated from outside to Malwa, were equally honoured He made a grant of the village Pipparika on the north banks of the Narmada to Sri Vasantacarya, a very learned Brahmana teacher, who had migrated from Ahicchatra It is dated V S 1031 (=974 A D) and was issued from the royal residence at Ujjain.[1]

Inspite of his constant wars together with his literary activities, Munja found time for the construction of the works of architectural interest [2] He appears to have been a great builder and is credited with the construction of several works of public utility Munjasagara, the biggest of the twelve artificial lakes round Dhara, is said to have been excavated by him Tradition avers the existence of several bathing-ghats around the above lake, though no traces of them are found and even if they existed they must have been silted up Munja-talao, a tank near Jahaz Mahal at Mandu, which bears his name was also excavated by him He built temples and bathing-ghats at Onkar-Mandhata, Ujjayini, Maheshwar on the Narmada and at Kubja-Sangam, near Dharmapuri It is clear that the construction of these public works would not have only increased the irrigational facilities of the people but also had contributed much to their bathing and other recreational comforts It is said that he improved the fortifications of Ujjayini, a measure, which was essentially a defensive one He tried to make Dhara a beautiful city and erected buildings there A town, now in Gujarat, known as Munjapura, as believed by K M Munshi, was also founded by him [3]

1 *I A*, vol VI, p 53

2 *Dhar State Gaz*, p 135, *Bhoja Raja* (Prof. Ayyanger), p 25, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (New Ed), p 162

3 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 162

Before closing the account of Munja, it will be proper to throw some light on his alleged attempt to get his nephew Bhoja assassinated The story of the wicked uncle, though is now[1] disproved, is too interesting to be consigned to oblivion The truth of the story can be challanged at the very outset on the ground that as no writer or poet contemporary to Munja, Sindhuraja and Bhoja has referred to it, no reliance may be placed upon it. Merutunga, who flourished in the 13th century A D[2] was the first to refer to it in the Prabandhacintamani.[3] The possibility, that the story was current among the people at the time of Merutunga, may not be ruled out Later on Ballala[4] Pandit picked it up and added a few fresh details to it, which are not to be found in the Prabandhacintamani

The story of sinful attempt to murder Bhoja opens with the arrival of a Brahmana, who was well-versed in astronomy[5] and was, "skilled in all sciences"[6] in the court of Munja Bhoja was very promising since his childhood and attained good knowledge in state-craft and the use of arms[7] in a short time On being addressed by Buddhisagara,[8] the dismissed Prime-Minister of Munja, the king requested the Brahmana to "cast Bhoja's horoscope"[9] Bhoja was at that time in the study hall and was brought to the court at the request of the astrologer, who before making any predictions, wanted to have a look at him[10] Thereupon the

1, Buhler and Zachariae, *Navasahasanka-Carita*, p 50.
2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 58
3. *Prnbandhacintamani*, p. 32
4 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 14
5. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32
6 *Bhojaprabandha* p 13.
7. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32
8 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 14
9 *Bhojaprabandha*, p. 14; *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32
10 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 14

celebrated Brahmana predicted, "Fifty years (and) five, seven months, (and) three days the Deccan with Gauda (is) to be enjoyed by Bhoja" [1] This prophesy adversely affected Munja's mind and he "became pale of face [2] For three nights, he reflected over the matter and concluded that, "he who quelleth not an enemy or a disease just born is later killed thereby, even (though) exceedingly stout of limb".[3]

Ballal Pandit and Merutunga attribute different motives to Munja for the attempt of Bhoja's murder According to the Bhojaprabandha, Munja considered Bhoja as a possible rival to his own glory and was of the view that, "If Royal fortune shall come to Prince Bhoja, then even (though) living, I (am) dead" [4] The Prabandhacintamani which differs, mentions that the reason was Munja's desire to make the path of his own son unobstructed to the throne [5]

Munja entrusted this hideous task to "some men of the lowest caste" [6] or to Vatsaraja, who has been referred to as "the very mighty overlord of Vanga"[7] with the command that he should kill Bhoja in the first watch of the night in the forest of Bhuvanesvari and his head was to be brought back to the royal palace [8] Vatsaraja tried to persuade the king to change his decision, not only on ethical grounds but also explained him the futility of the act and dangers that were involved in it,[9] But Munja remained adamant and Vatsaraja had to bow to his command ultimately At dusk, while on his mission to the

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1 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 14, *Prabandhacintamani*, 32
2 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 14
3. *Ibid*, p 15
4 *Ibid*, p. 14
5 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32
6 *Ibid*,
7. *Bhojaprabandha*, p 15
8 *Ibid*, p. 16.
9 *Ibid* p. 17

temple of Bhuvanesvari or Mahamaya, Vatsaraja summoned prince Bhoja's teacher and told him to bring the Royal prince out of the study-hall He forced Bhoja to enter his chariot and with a drawing sword in his hand, went to his destination

It appears that Bhoja, though a child had gained much popularity among his people and he was held in high esteem by them If Ballala[1] is to be believed, people and soldiers alike rose in rebellion against the authority of Munja at the news, that Bhoja had been led to death, and some of his loyal subjects committed suicide

At night,[2] on coming to the temple of Mahamaya, Vatsaraja disclosed the true nature of his mission to Bhoja The young prince showed an exemplary courage at the moment and accepted the death sentence sportingly He, however, requested Vatsaraja or the executioners[3] to hand over a communication from him to the king, on their return, after they had performed 'the king's command" [4] Bhoja took a leaf of a fig-tree and wrote a stanza on it with his blood and a blade of grass But on beholding the shining beauty[5] af Bhoja's countenance, Vatsaraja and his younger brother developed a loathing for their mission [6] In the thick darkness of the night, Vatsaraja took the prince outside the city and concealed him there in a subterranean chamber He got prepared an artificial head of Bhoja from men, who were skilled in factitious arts and went to the king's palace with his younger brother to report the completion of the mission and to hand over the leaf to Munja The leaf had a stanza, which ran thus "Mandhatr, lord of earth, (that had) become the adornment of the Krta, Age, (is) gone, where (is) that ten-mouthed one's

1 *Ibid*, p 18
2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32, *Bhojaprabandha*, p 18
3. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32
4 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 19
5 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32
6 *Bhojaprabandha*, p. 19-20

(Ravana's) destroyer (Rama), by whom the bridge (was) built in the great ocean ? And others also, yudhisthira and the rest, (are) gone to heaven, O Lord of Earth, with none whom soever (hath) Earth gone, will she go with thee, O Munja ?"[1]

On understanding the meaning of it, Munja felt a strong feeling of repentance with in him[2] and as an expiatory measure, he resolved to enter the fire[3] But on knowing the truth that Bhoja was still alive, he ordered the prince to be brought back to him "with great respect"[4] and according to the Bhojaprabandha, gave him the kingdom and retired to forest for penances[5] Merutunga differs on this point and is of the view that it was after this incident that Munja appointed Bhoja as the crown-prince[6]

As stated earlier, the story is not to be relied upon and in view of the clear statement of Dhanapala,[7] that Munja had great love for Bhoja, the accounts of the Prabandhas, may not be believed Dhanapala was a court-poet of Munja and was also a contemporary of Bhoja and as such his account deserves greater credit than that of Merutunga and Ballal

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1 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 20, *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32

2. *Ibid* *Ibid*, p 33

3 *"O king, enter the fire forthwith"*, *Bhojaprabandha* p. 20

4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33

5 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 22

6 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33

7. आकीर्णाघ्रितल सरोजकलशच्छत्रादिभिर्लाञ्छनै-
स्तस्याजायत मासलायुतभुज श्री भोज इत्यात्मज ॥
प्रीत्या योग्य इति प्रतापवसति ख्यातेन मुजाख्यया ।
य स्वे वाक्पतिराजभूमिपतिना राज्येभिपिक्त स्वयम् ॥
Tilakamanjari, V 43.

There is strong evidence[1] to suggest that Vakpati-Munja, during his life time, nominated Bhoja as the Yuvaraja. The reasons for this are not far to seek Chandana, the only son of Vakpati-Munja, possibly, remained contented with his governorship of Jabalipura and the mutual relations between the two brothers were not cordial[2] in the first part of Munja's reign The reason why Bhoja failed to succeed Munja on his death, though Merutunga[3] and Ballala wrongly refer to it, was due to his tender age It is difficult to find out the exact age of Bhoja at the time of his uncle's death, but if we accept Ballala's statement with necessary amendment, we may conclude that he was only "five years old" [4]

On the death of Vakpati Munja sometime between A D 993 and 998, his younger brother Sindhuraja[5] or Sindhala[6] or Sindhula,[7] who took the titles of Kumaranarayana and Navasahasanka,[8] ascended the throne of the Paramara kingdom of Malwa, a fact which is testified to by Padmagupta,[9] and by dynastic epigraphic records of Bhoja[10] and others [11] Padmagupta, the

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1 Dhanapala, Tilakamanjari, V 43, Merutunga, *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33, Ballal Pandit, *Bhojaprabandha*, p 17

2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 31.

3. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 36, *Bhojaprabandha*, p 22

4 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 13

5 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga VI, V II

6 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 31

7 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 13.

8. "*Navina - Sahasanka Sindhuraja*" "*Navina - Sahasankasya Kamadeva krterayam / Malavaika-mrgankasya* Sindhurajasya Sayakah//*Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga VI, V

9. *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, V 98

10 *E I*, vol XI, pp 182-183, *I A*, vol VI, pp 49-54, *E I*, vol XVIII, (July, 1926) pp 320-324, 'Hindustani' Oct 1931, pp 494-515.

11 Udayapur-Prasasti, *E I*, vol I, p, 233, V 20, "*Panahera Inscription of the time of* Jayasimha, *Ann Rept Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1916-17, pp 26

chief court-poet of Sindhuraja, who wrote the Navasahasanka-Carita, an allegorical play with his patron as the hero mentions, "When in the course of time, (Munja) departed for the city of Ambika's husband (heaven), he (Munja) placed the world in his (Sindhuraja's) arm, which was marked by the scars of the bow-string" [1] Keeping in view the circumstances in which Munja met his death, the observation of Buhler[2] that he appointed his brother "Yuvaraja" on his death-bed and made him his successor, is unacceptable According to D C Ganguly, the passage under discussion, indicates the appointment of Sindhuraja as heir-apparent sometime before Munja's fatal expedition,[3] a view which is also far-fetched In fact, there is nothing to justify such inferences and we think that it only means that at the time, when Munja started on his last campaign against Tailappa, he left the kingdom in charge of his brother, as Bhoja being a minor, there was no one else to shoulder that responsibility It is also clear from this evidence that relations between the two brothers finally improved and there is no truth in Merutunga's assertion that due to his haughtiness, Sindhuraja was blinded on the orders of Munja and was confined in a wooden cage [4] On the death of Munja in Manyakheta, Sindhuraja, whose path to the throne was perfectly unobstructed, assumed the sovereignty of the kingdom of Malwa His chief minister was Yasobhata, who was also known as Ramangada [5] Parpata, who was a minister of Munja, continued to enjoy that assignment even during the reign of Sindhuraja [6] Padmagupta refers to his patron as Avantisvara, Paramara-mahibhrt, and Malavaraja [7]

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1 "*Purani Kala-Kramat tena prasthiten Ambika-pateh / maurvi -Kinan-kavaty asya prthvi dosni - nivesita*" *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, V 98

2 *I A*, vol XXXVI, p 165;

3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 64-65

4. *Prabandhacintamani* p 32

5 Duff, *chronology of India*, p 102

6 श्रीसिंधुराजस्य महत्तमेन श्रीपर्पटेनार्चितपादपद्म. ।

Jain Sahitya Aur Itihas, p 183

7 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga I, VV 6, II, 102, 1, 15, 2, 51,3, 19

Sasiprabha, the daughter of the Naga king Sankhapala was the chief-queen of Sindhuraja, as the whole theme of the Navasahasanka-carita revolves round the central object, namely the marriage of the latter with the former. Sundarvira Raghava[1] in his one-act play Bhoja Rajankah also refers to Sasiprabha as the wife of Sindhula But she had not the fortune to give birth to an illustrious son like Bhoja, as her marriage was solemnised only after the accession of Sindhuraja, the time by which Bhoja was already born Savitri was the mother[2] of Bhoja, a fact, which proves that Sindhuraja was a polygamist

Padmagupta narrates a story, which reminds us of the chivalry of the ancient mythological heroes, that Sankhapala, the Naga prince asked for assistance from Sindhuraja against Vajrankusa, a neighbouring demon-king Sindhuraja readily responded to his request and alongwith the Vidyadharas crossed the river Wainganga, a tributary of Godavari and attacked the kingdom of Vajrankusa, with the result that the latter lost his life in a battle In gratitude, Sankhapala gave the hand of his daughter in marriage to the victor. D C Ganguly, who holds that the out line of this story is based on historical[3] facts, ascribes to Sindhuraja a brilliant career of conquests in the south According to him Sankhapala[4] came of a dynasty of rulers, which belonged to the Chhindaka family of the Naga race and which ruled over Bastar in Madhya Pradesh in the eleventh century A D.

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1 *Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library*, Madras, List of Sanskrit books (edited by Mahamah - opadhyaya Kuppusvami) Part II, Section 1, (c) p 2413-15.

2 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 18

3 Buhler, *I A*, vol XXXVI, (1907), p 154, V V Mirashi, *"Historical Data in Padmagupta's Navasahasanka-Carita" I. A*, vol LXII, (1933), pp 101, D C Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 69, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 97

4. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 73; *The Struggle for Empire*, pp 214-215.

According to Mirashi[1] Sankhapala was one of the princes of Cakrakotya, who call themselves Nagavamsis and Lords of Bhogavati Cakrakotya has been identified by Hiralal with the central portion of the Bastar State Bhoja in his work "Sarasvati-kanthabharana"[2] refers to a Naga prince, who ruled at Padmavati, which may be identified with modern Padampawa, and which was situated at the confluence of the Para and Sindhu This piece of evidence creates a strong doubt as to the learned scholar's proposed identification of the family of the Naga prince K M Munshi suggests that Sasiprabha was a princess of the Naga ruling family of Padmavati [3] The Vidyadharas are identified with the Silaharas of Northern Konkan, whose ruler at that time was Aparajita [4] It is difficult to believe that Aparajita ever accompanied Sindhuraja on an expedition against the demon-king as he himself fell a victim to the attack of the Chalukya Satyasraya, who reduced him to a precarious position, so much so, that he had to save himself by taking resort to the sea Aparajita eventually was compelled to accept the supremacy of the Chalukyas as it is known to us from the work of the Kanarese poet Ranna that Satyasraya "routed the lord of Konkana and extended his kingdom as far as the sea" The *Navasahasanka-Carita* refers to Sindhuraja's victory in Aparanta or Konkana Mirashi, on the basis of the evidence of the Bhandup[6] Plates of Chittaraja thinks that on the death of Aparajita, his younger son Vajjada usurped the throne, superceding the claims of his elder brother Arikesarin alias Kesideva It appears thatArikesarin appealed for help to Sindhuraja, who invaded Aparanta and placed the former, who was the rightful claimant, on the throne of Northern Konkana

1 *I A*, vol LXII, (1933) p 105, *List of C P Inscriptions*, p. 150

2 *Sarasvati-Kanthabharana* (1884 Ed), p 108

3 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed.), p 182

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 97

5 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga X, V 19,

6 *E I*, vol XII, p 262 *I A*, vol LXII, (1933), pp 102, 107

The learned scholar further suggests that due to feelings of gratitude he may have sent his son with a large army to help Sindhuraja in his campaign But it may be pointed out that the first epigraphic reference to the conquest and annexation of Northern Konkana by the Paramaras of Malwa is found in the Banswara and Betma copper plates of Bhojadeva It has been suggested that Vajrankusa, the demon-king was a chief of the Non-Aryan Mana tribe of Vajra, modern Wairagarh in the Chanda District of Maharastra [1] Mirashi[2] identifies Vajrankusa with Vajjuka (also called Vajuvarman in one record), the Lord of Komo Mandala

The defeat of Vakpati-Munja by Taila II naturally led to a loss of territory to the former and the southern boundary of the Paramara kingdom was possibly pushed back upto the banks of the Narmada [3] As such any further advance by Sindhuraja beyond that river to the west was to involve him into a conflict with his Chalukyan contemporary Satyasraya, who succeeded Taila II in A D. 997 But as Padmagupta refers to Sindhuraja's victory over the king of Kuntala,[4] we agree with D C Ganguly that the Paramara ruler led an army against Satyasraya, defeated him and recovered the territories, which were wrested from Munja by Taila II [5] Mirashi[6] suggests that Satyasraya suffered this defeat sometime between A D. 997 and 1008, when he was engaged

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1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 97, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 70-72,

2. *E I* vol. I, p 22, *Ibid*, vol XIX, p 79,
I. A, vol. LXII, (1933), p 105

3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 97

4 आक्रान्तदिङ्मण्डल कुन्तलेन्द्रसान्द्रान्धकारान्तरित रणे य ।
स्वगाज्यमश्राल्पमण्डलाग्रो गृहीतवान् दीधितिमानिवाह ॥
Navasahasanka-Carita, Sarga I, V. 74.

5. The struggle for Empire, p. 164; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 97

6. *I A.*, vol LXII, (1933), p 102

in a protracted struggle against the Cola king Rajaraja, the Great Kuntala[1] is the name of the Southern Maratha country, which was then ruled over by the later Chalukyas of Kalyana It can not be denied that it was an event of great significance, at least from the point of view of the Paramaras, though their epigraphic records do not mention it The silence of the Chalukyan records in this respect is understandable, as it was not a happy subject with them, but the same can not be said of the Paramara records The Udayapur Prasasti,[2] which records an equally important event of Munja's victory over Yuvaraja should have referred to Sindhuraja's victory over Satyasraya

It is clear that Vakpati-Munja could not completely crush the power of the Hunas and as such, it was left to his successor Sindhuraja to achieve it There is not the least doubt that Sindhuraja gained a victory over the Huna King, a fact, which is alluded both by the Navasahasanka-Carita[3] and the Udayapur Prasasti[4] Mirashi thinks that the Huna princes, who were defeated by the Paramaras, ruled "in some part of Central India"[5] The Paramara princes of Vagada had been ruling for a long time as feudatories of the Imperial house of Dhara Padmagupta[6]

1 *Ibid*

2 *E I*, vol I, pp 233-238, V 15

3 "*Apakartum atra Samaye tavatta-bhir manasapi Huna-nrpatir na Vanchati/ibha-Kumbha-bhitti-dalanodyame harer na Kapih Kadacana Satam Vikarsati//*
Navasahasanka-Carita, Sarga X V. 14

4 "*Tasyanujo nirjjita-Hunarajah Sri-Simdhurajo Vijayarjjita-Srih*"
E I, vol I, p 235, V 16

5 *I A*, vol LXII, (1933, p 101

6 "*Asi-Kanti-Jala-Jati-lagra-bahuna rana-Sim-ni natha nihatesu bhartrsu / bhavatatra Vagada-Vadhu - Janah Krto rati-Sandhi -vigraha-Katha-paranmukhah//*
Navasahasanka-Carita, Sarga X, V 15

refers to his patron's victory over the people of that country It is significant to note that Padmagupta in his account of Sindhuraja's victories, makes a clear and fine distinction between those, which were achieved by him against the ruling-heads and those, where the people were the main target of attack In the first category may be placed the kings of Murala,[1] Lata,[2] Kosala[3] and a Huna king, while in the second comes the people of the Vagada country It appears that during the reign of Chandapa,[4] son of Kamka, there had been a popular uprising against him, for reasons not known to us, and he, finding difficult to suppress it, sought the aid of his overlord Sindhuraja, whose intervention finally defeated the cause of the people D C Gauguly[5] and K M Munshi[6] think that the Paramara feudatory of Vagada tried to assert his independence, but was readily put down by Sindhuraja

Padmagupta mentions that Sindhuraja defeated the king of Kosala,[7] which could only be taken as Daksina-Kosala In the early years of the eleventh[8] century A D Kalingaraja conquered Daksina Kosala, which lay to the East-south of the Narmada, and founded this Junior Kalachuri dynasty of princes with his capital at Tummana, which may be identified with modern village of

1 *Ibid*, V 16

2. *Ibid*, V 17.

3 *Ibid*, V. 18

4 *E I.*, vol XIV, p 299

5 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 98

6 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) p. 182.

7 "*Uditena vairi-timira-druhabhutas Tava natha Vikrama -mayukha-malina | Nihitas tvaya mahati Soka-Sagare Jagatindra Kosala-pateh purandhrayah||* *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga X, V 18

8 *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 64-65, *E I* vol I, p 33, *I. A*, vol. LIII, pp 267 ff

Tumana in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh D C Ganguly[1] thinks that the vanquished king of Kosala was this Kalingaraja But at this time, South Kosala was also ruled by another dynasty of princes, called the Somavamsis of Kosala Sindhuraja's contemporary Somavamsi ruler was Yayati Mahasivagupta I, who appears to have ruled from A D 970 to 1000[2] It is clear that South Kosala was under the rule of two different royal houses with Tummana in modern Chhattisgarh and Vinitapura or Yayatinagara in the Sonpur tract of Orissa as their respective capitals The North-Western portion of South Kosala, which roughly corresponded to modern districts of Bilaspur, Surguja, Raigarh and parts of Durg and Raipur was ruled over by the Kalachuris of Ratanpur The Eastern portion which comprised of the modern district of Sambalpur and the former feudatory states namely Patna, Sonpur, Bamra and Rairakhol in Orissa together with some adjacent parts of the Raipur district in Madhya Pradesh, was under the rule of Somavamsis Kalingaraja was a feudatory of the Kalachuris of Tripuri,[3] and as such any attack against his territory by the Paramaras would naturally have precipitated a war between Sindhuraja and Kokkalla II As we do not find any reference to such a war in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tripuri, the identification of Kalingaraja with the King of Kosala, who suffered a defeat at the hands of Sindhuraja, is open to doubt we are inclined to identify the king of Kosala with the Somavamsi ruler Yayati Mahasivagupta I.[4]

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1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 76

2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 146

3 *The struggle for Empire*, p 65.

4 स्वस्ति श्रीमतो विनीतपुगात्... .. .परममाहेश्वर
परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर सोमकुलतिलक
त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति श्री महाशिवगुप्तराजदेव
कुशली । कोसलदेश प्रतिवद्य ।
E I, vol XI, p 96,
Somesvara II in his Patna Museum Plates styles himself as, "*Sakala - Kosal - adhisvara*" The record was issued from Suvarnnapur *E I*, vol XIX, p 99, lines 13-14

It appears that before Sindhuraja launched an attack against the Somavamsis, he conquered the Vajra country, which lay on the route, abou. 200 miles south of the course of the Narmada The Mana chief of Vajra strongly resisted the Paramaras and lost his life, fighting bravely on the battle field The severity of the struggle may also be imagined from the fact that Ramangada, the, Paramara minister was killed in the battle at the hand of the Mana prince On the south-eastern border of Vajra lay the territory of a Naga prince, which roughly corresponds to modern Bastar district in the Madhya Pradesh Realising the futility of resistance against an invasion of the Paramara imperialists, the Naga chief readily submitted before Sindhuraja and gave the hand of his daughter Sasiprabha in marriage to him Mirashi[1] thinks that Sindhuraja's conquest of Kosala preceded his this adventurous campaign and he places the latter late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century, a view to which we don't subscribe Firstly, because Bhoja ascended the throne in A D 1008 and secondly, by that time Sindhuraja was sufficiently advanced in age and it was not expected of him to have the fervour of a young lover as to claim the hand of the Naga princess in marriage

Murala is the same as Kerala and it may be identified with the modern Malabar coast [2]. Padmagupta's reference[3] to Sindhuraja that he conquered the king of Murala, may only be taken as mere rhetoric, as it is extremely doubtful that he could ever advance to that distant land in the south At that time the Kerala ruler was Bhaskara Ravivarman (A D 987—1036), who about a decade earlier to the accession of Sindhuraja had accepted the

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1 *I A*, vol LXII, (1933), pp 104

2 N L De's *Geog Dictionary*, pp 98, 134.
Mirashi locates Murala in the northern part of the former Nizam's Dominions
Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol XI, p 369.

3 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga X, V 16

supremacy of the Chola emperor Rajaraja the Great (A D 985—1014) [1] Rajaraja's empire included the whole of South India upto the Tungabhadra[2] and before an attack could be launched against the Kerala ruler. Sindhuraja was required to overrun the Chola empire, a task which was beyond the strength of the armies of Malwa

Sindhuraja is also credited with a victory over a king of Lata, reference to which is made by Padmagupta [3] His immediate predecessor Vakpati-Munja had defeated the Lata chief Barappa, who subsequently met his death in an encounter with the Chaulukya Yuvaraja Chamundaraja of Gujarat [4] It appears that on that occasion the Chaulukyas conquered and occupied the Kingdom of Lata But Barappa's son and successor Gongiraja rose to the occassion and finally succeeded in emancipating his land from the domination of the enemy The fact is referred to in a copper plate grant of Trilochanapala,[5] the great-grand son of Gongiraja, dated 1050 A D, which states that, "Gongiraja relieved his own land like the great Visnu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons" The reign of the chaulukya Mularaja, father of Chamundaraja, came to an end in A D 994 or A D 995[6] and this shows that by that time Barappa was dead Kirttiraja, son of Gongiraja, and grandson of Barappa ruled Lata in A D 1018, when Durlabharaja, the second

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1 *The struggle for Empire*, p 234

2 *Ibid*, p 235

3 "*Rabhasad apasya mani-Kankanavalih Kanak-aravinda-katakesu te' sina / na Kim arpitani nrpa-Lata - yositam Sphatikaksa Sutra-Valayani panisu//*

Navasahasanka-Carita, Sarga X, V 17

4 *Dvyasraya*, by Hemachandra, 6th Sarga, *Bom Gaz*, vol I, Part I, p 159, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 105

5 *I A*, vol XII, p 203

6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 104, *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 28-29

son of Chamundaraja, who then occupied the Chaulukya throne, plundered it[1] It is, therefore, clear that he was no one else but Gongiraja, who suffered a temporary reverse at the hands of Sindhuraja

Being puffed up with his success over the Chaulukyas of Lata, Sindhuraja attacked Chamundaraja, the Chaulukya ruler of Anahilavada As Chamundaraja was a petty ruler,[2] it is reasonable to think that Sindhuraja was the aggressor and it was his policy of territorial aggrandisement, which brought him into a conflict with the former The Vadnagar[3] —Prasasti of Kumarapala dated A D 1151 and Jayasimhadeo[4] Suri's account in his Kumarapala-carita have been the main-stay of historians for narrating a story of this struggle K M Munshi[5] has expressed a doubt that Sindhuraja of the Vadnagar Prasasti may be a king of Sindh, a view to which we don't subscribe, when we consider that evidence together with that of the Kumarapala-carita Jayasimha's reference to Munja,[6] the king of Avanti, immediately after Sindhuraja, though chronologically incorrect, proves satisfactorily that the latter was no one else but the Paramara ruler of Malwa. Chronological inaccuracies are also found in the works of Merutunga[7] and Ballal[8] and, in fact, Prabandhas are not free from them, Two facts may be gleaned from the evidence of the Vadnagar Prasasti Firstly, Chamundaraja defeated Sindhuraja in a "battle of elephants" and the latter had to flee for his life Secondly,

1 *The struggle for Empire*, p 74
2 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) p 467-68
3 *E I*, vol I, p 296, V 6
4 *Kumarapala-Carita*, Sarga I, V 31 .
5 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed), p. 467
6 तस्माद्वल्लभराजोभूद्यत्प्रतापाभितापित ।
मुजोवतीश्वरो धीरो यत्रेपि न धृतिं दधौ ॥ ३२ ॥
Kumarapala-Carita, Sarga I
7 *Prabandhacintamani* p 30
8 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 13

Sindhuraja's defeat was so complete, "that even all trace of the fame of that prince was lost" [1] But the difficulty is that this epigraphic evidence is not in conformity with that of the kumarapala-carita, where it is mentioned that chamundaraja killed sindhuraja in a battle [2] It is true that in view of the former, it is not possible to accept the latter evidence in verbatim but still it possesses some element of truth What we think is that though Sindhuraja escaped alive from the battlefield, he could not sustain the shock of defeat and loss of reputation at the hands of an insignificant ruler for long and died sometime after the event Jayasimha's unqualified statement further stands discredited on the ground that the earlier Jain writers Merutunga and Hemachandra do not corroborate it

Bhima ascended the throne of Gujarat in V S 1077(=A.D 1020)[3] and if we deduct the total reigning period of his two immediate predecessors namely Durlabharaja and Vallabharaja, amounting to about twelve years and a half,[4] from it, the probable date of Chamundaraja's abdication in favour of his eldest son Vallabharaja would fall somewhere between V S 1064-1065(= A D 1007-1008) Abhayatilaka, the commentator of Hemachandra's Dvasraya tells us that Chamunda was a man of a dissolute character and therefore his sister Chachinidevi compelled him to hand over the charge of the government to Vallabharaja

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1 *"Sunus tasya babhuva bhupa tilakas Camundaraj-ahvayo yad-gamdha-dvipa-da ia-gamdha-pavana-ghranena durad api|*
Vibhrasyan mada-gamdha bhagna-Karibhih Sri-Sindhurajas tatha
Nastah Ksoni-patir-yathasya yasasam gamdho pinirna-sitah||6||"
E I, vol I, p 296

2 *Raja Camundarajo "tha yah |*
Sindhurajam ivonmattam Simdhurajam mrdhe' vadhit||31||"
Kumarapalacarita, Sarga I

3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 30

4 *Ibid*, p 29

Chamunda thereupon, being penitent, started on a pilgrimage to Kasi for the expiation of his sin while passing through Malva, he was deprived of the insignia of state, the royal umbrella and other valuables by the king of that country. He therefore, returned back to Anahilavada and ordered his son to punish the king of Malava for his insolent behaviour.[1] According to some[2] Chamunda proceeded on his journey, but sent his son Vallabhraja a message praying him to take revenge for this insult on the Malava monarch K M Munshi thinks that this Malava king[3] was Sindhuraja, to which we don't agree Are we to believe that Chamunda, even at this stage of his life, was so inexperienced in the art of diplomacy and state-craft as to place himself conveniently into the hands of his arch-enemy Sindhuraja The only possible explanation that can be given for Chamunda's seletion of a route through Malava to Kasi is that by that time Sindhuraja was dead and his son and successor Bhoja had ascended the throne It appears that the death of Sindhuraja almost coincided with the accession of Vallabharaja on the throne of Gujarat, which may be placed in V. S 1065 (=A. D 1008) [4]

Durlabharaja, the second son of the Chaulukya Chamundaraja came to the throne in V S 1065[5] (=1008 A D), as his elder brother Vallabharaja, who had a short reign of five months and twenty nine days, died of small pox (*Silirogena*), while investing the fortifications of Dhara, in the country of Malava [6] Hemachandra tells us that Mahendraraja, the king of Naduladesa arranged a svayamvara Sabha for the selection of a bridegroom for his sister Durlabhadevi Besides Durlabharaja, the king of

1 *Dvvasraya*, Sarga VII, (V 31-48)

2 *Dhar State Gaz* p 140, *Rasmala* 176, *I A*, vol XXXVI, p 171

3 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) p 183

4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 29

5 *Ibid*

6 *Ibid*

Gujarat, the chiefs of Malava, Mathura, Angadesa, Kasi, Huna country etc participated in the assembly [1] Mahendraraja is the Chahamana Mahendra, king of Naddula, who was Baliraja's cousin and was son of Sobhita's brother Vigrahapala [2] As Durlabharaja ruled for twelve years only,[3] it can reasonably be presumed that he attended the Svayamvara Sabha either soon after his accession or in the early part of his reign The Malava king, referred to above, appears to be no one else but Bhoja, as it is too much to expect of Sindhuraja, in his old age, to attend that assembly

D C Ganguly on the authority of Merutunga,[4] that the reign of Bhoja, lasted for "fifty five years, seven months and three days", fixes his accession in the early part[5] of A D 999 or in 1000 [6] It may be pointed out that the two facts namely the prophesy of the astrologer and Munja's attempt to get his nephew Bhoja murdered are inseparable, as the latter was the natural result of the former, and in case one falls down, the other may not stand As the story of the wicked uncle Munja has been completely exploded, it is not desirable to accept the prophesy without reservation While Lassen[7] and others suggest A D 1005 as the date of Bhoja's accession, Buhler[8] removes it to A D 1010 K M Munshi[9], believing that dates are the weakest points in Merutunga's narrative, has preferred

1 *Dvyasraya*, Sarga VII, pp 547ff

2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 107

3 *Prabandhacintamani* p 29

4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32

5 *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p 81.

6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 98, *The struggle for Empire*, p 66

7 *Paiyalacchi*, edited by Buhler, Introduction, p 9

8 *E I*, vol I, p 232

9 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) p 468

to follow Buhler's surmise V Smith thinks A D 1018 as the probable date [1]

Sindhuraja, who inherited a rich tradition to honour the learned, extended his patronage to Padmagupta, a fact which is referred to by the poet himself In the Navasahasanka-Carita he asserts that "The seal which Vakpatiraja put upon my song when he was about to enter heaven (by his death), Sindhuraja, brother of that friend of poets, now breaks" [2] As Dhanapala was also a contemporary of Bhoja,[3] it can be presumed that he adorned the court of Sindhuraja D C Ganguly thinks that Dhanika too was there [4]

It is difficult to say with certainty when Ujjayini for the first time became the capital of the Paramara kingdom of Malava, though it appears that, that honour was conferred upon it by Vakpati I [5] The city continued to enjoy the status of a provincial capital till A. D 946 [6] a fact, which can be inferred from the appointment of Madhava as the governor of Ujjain by the Imperial government of the Gurjara-Pratiharas at Kanauj There appears no ground to think that Ujjayini ceased to be the capital of Siyaka II, though K M Munshi emphatically asserts that it was not Ujjayini, nor Dhara, nor Khetaka [7] Both epigraphic and literary evidence points out that even during the succeeding reign of Vakpati-Munja, the city was the metropolis of an independent Paramara kingdom of Malava and as such it is not possible to agree with K M Munshi that Siyaka had shifted his capital to Dhara [8] One of the

1 *Early History of India*, p 410

2 *I A*, vol. XXXVI, p 150, foot note 4

3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 60-61

4 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 80

5. *E I*, vol I, p 237

6 *Ibid*, vol XIV, p 176

7 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed.), p 148

8 *Ibid*, p 155.

grants of Vakpati II dated V S 1031 (=A D 974)[1] was issued from his "royal residence at Ujjain", which is clearly distinguished from his "royal camp" at Bhagavatpura, from where his second[2] grant dated V S 1036 (=A D 979) was issued While Padmagupta refers to him as" might of Ujjayini"[3], Merutunga calls him as "King of the land of Avanti"[4] Even as late as in the fourteenth century A D, Munja was known as the "Lord of Avanti".[5] it is clear from the evidence of the Navasahasanka-carita that during the reign of Sindhuraja, Ujjayini was the seat of his government [6] It may be pointed out that Dhara was an important city of Malava long before the ascendency of the Paramaras [7] It well maintained its position and that is why Padmagupta describes it as the other city (Apara-puri) of the king Sindhuraja [8] It appears that before the accession of Bhoja,Dhara was the second capital of the Paramara kingdom and that is why it has been referred to as "Kularajadhani"[9]

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1 *I A*, vol VI, p 51
2 *Ibid* vol XIV, p 160
3 *J B B R A S*, vol XVI, p 174
4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 34
5 *Kumarapalacarita* Sarga I, V 32
6. "*Prasasti parito Visvam Ujjiyinyam puri Sthitah/*
ayam yayati-Mandhatr-Dusyanta Bharatopamah//
Sarga XI, V 99
7 Fleet, *Gupta Inscription*, p 230
8 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga I, Vs 90-91,
9 *Ibid*,

CHAPTER FIFTH

Bhoja, the Illustrious

With the accession of Bhojadeva on the throne of the Paramara Kingdom of Malava in A D 1008, a new star arose in the political horizon of India, which with its brilliance dazzled the eyes of the ruling aristocracy and the laity alike for about half a century and finally disappeared in dark clouds, leaving behind such imperishable impressions, which are fresh even today Though his fame mainly rests upon his cultural and benevolent activities, he was equally great in the art of war and could easily be ranked among the great warriors of his time In India, it was a age of military giants like the Chola Rajendra, the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva and the Chalukya Jayasimha II and it is a sufficient proof of Bhoja's excellent martial qualities that under those circumstances he not only, after having success fully waged wars against his enemies, retrieved back the fame and honour of his family, which had suffered a temporary eclipse during the preceding reigns of his father and uncle, but also raised himself to an Imperial position of" Malava chakravarti',[1] a claim, waich was recognised even by his adversaries and which he justified almost throughout his life

Bhoja was about twenty years of age, though D C Ganguly considers him a boy of fifteen,[2] at the time of his accession, if we accept that Vakpati-Munja died sometime in A,D, 993 and that at the time of his death Bhoja was only five years old [3] Tribhuwan Narayana or Triloka Narayana was his another name or title,

1 *E I*, vol I, p 297

2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 88

3 *Bhojaprabandha* p 13

which literally means the" Lord of Universe", and which has been referred to by Vaddhamana in his work on grammar, namely, Ganaratna Mahodadhi, which he composed in V S 1197(=A D 1140)[1] This fact is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence, which points out that the idol of the temple of Siva, which Bhoja constructed with in the Chittor fort, was known by the two names of Bhojasvamideva[2] and Tribhuwan Narayanadeva[3] His policy of matrimonial alliances with different ruling dynasties of his time may have contributed to strengthen his position. While Liladevi[4] or Lilavati[5] was his chief queen, Padmavati, the daughter of the Lord of Kuntala, Chandramukhi, the Anga princess and Kamala were his other queens[6]. Rohaka[7]

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1 नाडायनि व्रीडजडेह माभू—
श्चारायणि स्फारय चारुचक्षु ।
विलोक्य वाकायनि मुजकुजा–
न्मौजायनी मालवराज एति ॥१॥

वीक्षस्व तैकायनि शसकोय
शाणायनि क्त्रायुधवाणशाण ।
प्राणायनि प्राणममस्त्रिलोक्या—
स्त्रिलोकनारायणभूमिपाल ॥५॥

द्वैपायनीतो भव सायकाय—
न्युपेहि दौर्गायणि देहि मार्गम् ।
त्वरस्व वैत्रायणि चाटकाय—
न्यौदुम्वरायण्ययमेति भोज ॥८॥

Tadita Ganadhyaya, 3 pp 150-151

2 An Inscription from Chittor dated V S 1358 (A D 1301) Bhoja is referred to as having built the temple of Bhojasvamin, *Prabandhacintamani*, p 49

3 श्री चित्रकूट दुर्गे · ···· ···· तलारता य पितृक्रमायातां ।
श्रीभोजराजरचितत्रिभुवननारायणाख्यदेवगृहे ।
यो विरचयतिस्म सदाशिवपरिचर्या स्वशिवलिप्सु ॥३१॥
Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol 21, p 143

4 *Bhojaprabandha*, pp 85-86

5 Catalogue of Sanskrit books Govt Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras vol II, Part I (C), p. 2413-15

6 *Bhojaprabandha*, pp 85-86

7 *Prabandhacintamani*, p. 36

was the prime-minister of his government and his three generals were Kulacandra,[1] Sada[2] and Suraditya [3]

Soon after his accession, Bhoja came into conflict with the chaulukyas of Gujarat The reason, as narrated by Hemachandra,[4] was that the chaulukya Chamundaraja, after having abdicated his throne in favour of his eldest son Vallabharaja, when started for a pilgrimage to Kasi for the expiation of his sin, he was stopped on his way by Bhoja,[5] who was evidently the Raja of Malava, and was deprived of the umbrella and chowries and the other insignia of royalty Why Bhoja insulted and humiliated Chamundaraja, is not difficult to understand His father's serious reverse at the hands of the Chaulukyas was an unfortunate event, which was fresh in his mind and it was the human instinct of revenge, which motivated him to adopt that course Chamunda, after having returned back to his capital Anahilavada ordered his son Vallabharaja, to uproot "the thorn" i e the Malava king for his insolent behaviour In obedience to his father's command Vallabharaja at the head of a large army and loaded with valuable gifts and advices, which he received from a number of other kings, who welcomed him on his way, pursued his journey by the route through the Kuntaladesa and crossing the confluence of the rivers Para and Sindhu, marched against Malava But before he reached that country he fell a victim to a serious type of small pox and inspite of the best efforts of his physicians to save him, he died His army withdrew to Anahilavada [6]

Vallabharaja's march against the Malava king is a historical fact, the truth of which may not be doubted as it is confirmed

1 *Ibid*, p 46
2 *E I*, vol IX, p 75
3 Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona (1919), p 319
4 *Dvyasraya*, Sarga VII, pp 521 ff
5 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 104
6 *Dvyasraya*, VII Sarga, VV 35-46

by the epigraphic evidence The event may be dated in V S 1065 (=A D 1008)[1] The Vadnagar prasasti of Kumarapala mentions that" From him (i e Chamundaraja) was born a crest-jewel among princes, named Vallabharaja, who astonished the circle of the earth by his bold deeds Densely dark smoke rising from the empire of the Malava king, who quaked on hearing of his (Vallabharaja's) marching, indicated the spread of the fire of his anger"[2] Merutunga also corroborates this fact, though he throws some additional light on the point by stating that the king died of smallpox (Silirogena), while investing the fortifications of Dhara in the country of Malava[3] Arisimha's "Sukrta Samkirtana"[4] and Jayasimha's[5] "Sukrta-Kirtti-Kallolini"- attribute avictory to Vallabharaja over the Malava king, a statement which may not be relied upon as there is not the least evidence to Support it Certain conclusions and inferences may reasonably be drawn from this historical data Firstly, Vallabh died of smallpox,a fact, which is accepted both by Hemachandra and Merutunga Secondly, he actually launched an attack against the Malava territory, carried death and destruction in his train upto the utmost limit of his advance,a thing, which is evident from densely dark smoke that arose from the empire of

1 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 29

2 "*Tasmad Vallabharaja ity abhidhaya Ksmapala-Cudamanir jajne Sahasa-Karma-nimita-Camatkara Ksama-mandalo Yat-Kopanala-jrmbhitam pisunaya-tat Samprayana-Sruti Ksubhyan-Malava-bhupa-Cakra-Vikasan malinya-dhumodgamah//*
E I, vol. I, V 7, p 297

3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 29

4. *Sukrta Samkirtana*, Sarga II, V 13, 2

5 "*yah Sri- Malava-bhupa bhala-phalaka-prasveda-bindu-cchala-pratyagra-prathita-prasasti-vikasad-dor vikra-mopakramah//*"
Sukrta-Kirtti-Kallolini, V 32

the Malava king Thirdly, Vallabha died befere he could reach Dhara and in the absence of any corroboration either by Hemachandra or by the Vadnagar Prasasti, Merutunga's statement that he besieged the Paramara capital stands discredited And lastly, the fact that the army of Gujarat could march towards Dhara not only shows a considerable rise in the military strength of the chaulukyas, but also indicates in what a weak position Bhoja was in the earliest part of his reign

The pre-mature death of Vallabha was a great shock to his father chamunda, who after having entrusted the government to his second son Durlabharaja retired to Suklatirtha, near Broach, on the banks of the Narmada, where he is said to have fasted unto death [1] Durlabharaja ascended the throne in V S 1065 (=A D,1008) as his deceased elder brother had a short reign of about six months only [2] Vallbaharaja's task remained unfinished as Durlabharaja did not launch a fresh offensive against Malava But Hemachandra wants us to believe that there had been a fight between Bhoja and Durlabha, though the cause of the quarrel on this occasion, as narrated by him, was quite different from that which led Vallabha to invade Malava According to him, the chief of Malava was one of the disappointed suitors, who failed to get the hand of the Chahamana princess Durlabhadevi in marriage in a svayamvara sabha, which was arranged by her brother Mahendraraja at Nadol The coveted prize was won over by Durlabharaja, the Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat and it aroused the jealousy of the other crowned heads of Angadesa, kasi, ujjayini, kurudesa, Mathuradesa, Andhradesa and of Hunadesa, who were also invitees to that assembly They formed a confederacy, possibly to snatchaway the bride from Durlabharaja forcibily, and when he was on his way back to his capital Pattana (Anahilavada) with her, they attacked them murderously But the powerful Gujarat army defeated them all and thus foiled their nafarious design Hemachandra gives agraphic description of

1. *Dvyasraya*, VII, Sarga, pp 521 ff
2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 29

the battle and the king of Malava is referred to as having thrown down his weapons while the rulers of kuru, kasi and of Humadesa took to flight in disgrace, the Raja of Angadesa surrendered and that of the Andhradesa was wounded. The chief of Mathura retired from the battlefield to arrange fresh military assistance from the Turuskas and the mountaineers It was after this signal victory against his enemies that Durlabharaja proceeded to his capital in triumph with his newly-wedded wife[1] .

A critical examination of the above story shows that while the first part of it is correct, the latter appears to be imaginary [2] The historicity of Mahendraraja is well established and he is identified with Mahendra or Mahendu, who came to the throne of Nadol after Baliraja's death [3] As Bhoja was in the prime of his youth at this time, his participation in the Svayamvara sabha may not be ruled out If is true that the military strength of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat had taken long strides during the preceding reigns but it is too much to think of Durlabharaja, who was still the ruler of a small principality, to defeat the forces of such a formidable confederacy We think that there had been no war between Durlabha and Bhoja and they maintained friendly relations with each other. Even if we suppose that there was a conflict between them, as referred to by Hemachandra, it did not prove an obstacle in establishing cordial relations between the two royal houses Possibly, it was due to this friendship that Durlabharaja, on the death of his brother Vallabha, did not renew military operations against Malava The friendship continued through out the reign of Durlabha, which amounted to twelve years,[4] as he abdicated his throne in favour of his nephew Bhima in V. S 1077(=A D, 1020)[5] The peace proved to be advantageous to both the sides

1 *Dvyasraya*, Sarga, VII, pp 547 ff
2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 115-16
3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 107
4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 29
5. *Ibid* p 30

While on one hand it gave an opportunity to Durlabha to plunder Lata in A D 1018,[1] though on that occasion, it was not annexed to his kingdom, on the other, it enabled Bhoja to deal more powerfully and more effectively with his traditional enemy, the Chalukyas of kalyana

According to Merutunga, [2] Durlabha after having abdicated his throne, proceeded on a pilgrimage to Benares, as he desired to perform his devotions in a holy place When he reached the country of Malava, he was called upon by king Munja to give up the insignia of State, the royal Umbrella and chowries, and other valuables and to continue his journey in the dress of a pilgrim, or to fight his way through Durlabha perceived that an obstacle to his religious resolutions had arisen in his path, and after impressing the circumstance in the strongest way on king Bhima, went to the holy place in the dress of a pilgrim and gained paradise From that day forth there was rooted enemity between the kings of Gujarat and Malava.

The truth of the above account of the prabandhacintamani is open to doubt It can not be maintained that Munja humiliated Durlabharaja, as the former died more than a decade earlier to the accession of the latter It is incorrect to say that this incident, which never took place, created enemity between the two royal houses. Merutunga himself contradicts this statement, when he says that at first there was a close friendship between Bhoja and Bhima [3] The presence of Damara, [4] the accredited diplomatic agent of Bhima at Dhara also proves that the latter did not receive Bhoja's hostility as a part of his

1 *The Struggle for Empire* p 74

2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 30

3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p' 41

4 *Ibid*, p 43-44

inheritance from Durlabharaja Bhoja too had his ambassador[1] at Bhima's Court, as the privilege of appointing them to foreign capitals was reciprocal

Bhoja seems to have started his military career by an invasion of the kingdom of Lata, which extended upto Surat, in the Bombay presidency, Modern Gujarat, and which lay to the north of that of the Silaharas of the Northern konkana For a ruler of the North, before he could successfully peneterate into the South, it was almost imperative to have control over Lata, for it was through it alone that the Nasik-Bulsar passage, the gateway to the South, could be controlled[2] It was dueto this strategic military importance of Lata that his two immediate predecessors, namely Sindhuraja and Vakpati-Munja, accomplished its successive conquests The Chaulukya kirttiraja son of Gongiraja was his contemporary monarch of that country and his Surat grant is dated A D 1018[3] Bhoja s ally Durlabharaja, the Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat plundered Lata in A D 1018 and thus indirectly paved the way for the Paramara conquest of that kingdom As kirttiraja was no match for the powerful armies of Bhoja, he was easily defeated and the copper-plate grant of his grandson Trilochanapala, possibly, refers to this disaster, where it is stated that the fame of kirttiraja was taken away for a time by his enemies[4] Both the epigraphic and literary evidence pointsout to Bhoja's conquest of Lata and in this connection, the Kalvan plate[5] and the Udayapur[6] prasasti together with the account of the prabandhacintamani[7] may be referred to Lata was annexed to the Paramara kingdom of

1 *Ibid*, p. 68

2 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed), p. 186

3 *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol VII, p 88

4 *I A*, vol XII, p 204, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol VII, p 88

5 *E I*, vol XIX, pp 71-72

6 *Ibid* vol I, p 235, V 19,

7. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 44.

Malava, but the annexation proved to be a temporary one, a fact, which is clear from Trilochanapala's copper-plate grant One thing is almost certain that the old Chaulukyan dynasty continued to rule over Lata and Bhoja did not depose it as we find that Kirttiraja's son Vatsaraja and his grandson Trilochanapala ruled over that territory atleast upto A D 1051 [1] It can not be denied that for some years Kirttiraja ruled as a feudatory of Bhoja but the Paramara-Chalukya conflict soon offered him an opportunity to declare his independence we fail to find any evidence to support K M Munshi's view that at the time of Bhoja's invasion of Lata, Kirttiraja ruled as a feudatory of the western Chalukyas [2]

The conquest and annexation of Lata brought the south-western boundary of the Paramara kingdom of Malava close to that of the Northern Konkana Konkana is the modern konkan It is the narrow strip of land, which runs along the western coast of India [3] At that time, the country of konkana extended from the Thana District of Modern Maharastra to the Malabar coast of Modern Kerala in the South In other words it was the strip of land between thewestern Ghats and the sea and between the Purna river and Goa There were two distinct royal families of the Silaharas, which ruled over the Northern konkana and the Southern konkana respectively A third held sway over the south Maratha country, which comprised of the districts of karhad,[4] kolhapur and Miraj It was about the middle of the ninth century A D that the first two of these dynasties were founded and were feudatories of the Rashtrakutas The Silaharas took the title of Sriman-Mahalakshmi-labdhavara-prasada and carried the banner of a golden Garuda(Suvarna-Garuda-Dhvaja) [5]

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1 *The struggle for Empire*, p 74

2 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 186

3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 83

4 *The struggle for Empire*, App., p 184

5 *Ibid*

Taila II, who brought about the downfall of the Imperial Rashtrakutas of the Deccan and who claimed all territories held by them, naturally demanded the submission of the Silaharas of Northern Konkana but failed to achieve it Satyasraya, who succeeded Taila II to the Chalukya throne of Kalyana in A D 997, attacked Northern Konkana and reduced the Silahara Aparajita, the reigning monarch, to a precarious position It Is stated that "hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the Satyasraya's army on the other, Aparajita trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire" [1] As it was beyond the strength of Aparajita to resist successfully the onslaught of the Chalukyan imperialist, he had to run for life, which he eventually saved by taking resort to the sea, Northern Konkana lay prostrate at the feet of the conqueror, who let loose a reign of terror by setting the city of Amsunagara on fire He extracted a tribute of twenty-one elephants from them and compelled them to accept his supremacy, which was asserted over all the territory upto the sea shore The fact, which we want to stress is that by A.D 1008,[2] the year, when the Paramara Bhoja ascended the throne, the Silahara rulers of Northern Konkana had become feudatories of the Chalukyas [3] D C Ganguly, who was formerly opposed to this view[4] has now accepted this opinion [5] There were certain factors, namely, the geographical position of Northern Konkana, its small size and the rise of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and its proximity with them, which disfavoured its growth as an independent Kingdom in the last decade of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh century A D

1 *Ibid*, p 164

2 Satyasraya died in A D 1008 *The struggle for Empire* p. 164

3. *Bom Gaz.*, vol I, Part II p 436

4 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 97.

5. *The struggle for Empire*, p 164

Bhoja's contemporary ruler of Northern Konkana was the Silahara Arikesari, who was also known as Kesideva [1] The discovery of his Thana plate[2] throws light on two important facts firstly, that he was ruling in konkana in A D 1017 and secondly, that Bhoja's invasion of Konkana, which can reasonably be inferred to, took place sometime after that date Arikesari claims, in this epigraphic record, to have ruled over the whole land of Konkana, which may not be taken to mean both the North and the South Konkana It is clear from the find-spot of the inscription that Arikesaribelonge d to the Silahara ruling dynasty of Northern Konkana His small kingdom, which may better be undertsood as a "canton-state" and which serves as a measure-rod for his political and military strength, consisted of only fourteen-hundred villages in addition to many undefined territories, which he acquired by his own arm Puri, a town near Modern Bombay may be taken as his capital [3] D C Ganguly thinks that Thana was the capital of the Silahara Aparajita Mriganka [4] Arikesari or Kesideva had to suffer the brunt of Bhoja's attack, who defeated him and compelled him to accept his vassalage It is clear from the Betma Plates[5] of Bhoja that by January 3,1020 A D , the date of the issue of the grant, the paramara conquest of Northern Konkana was an accomplished fact It was on the momentous and auspicious occasion of the celebration of the victory of Konkana "(Konkana-vijaya parvani)" that Bhoja, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit and fame of his parents and of himself,[6] made the above grant of a hundred Nivartanas[7] of land in the village Vatapadraka, infavourof brahmana Bhaila, son of Vamana, The importance of the event lay in the fact that since the execu-

1 *E I*, vol XII, p 253, *Asiatic Researches*, vol I, p 357

2 *E I*, vol. XII, p 254

3 *E I*, vol XII, p 254,

4 *The struggle for Empire*, p. 162.

5. *E I*, vol XVIII, p 320.

6 'मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये'

7 'भूमिवर्त्तनशतैक नि १००'

tion of Vakpati-Munja by Taila II, this was the first major success, which was achieved by the Paramaras of Malava against the Chalukyas of Kalyana, whose feudatory the Silahara Arikesari was Further, Northern Konkana was a newly acquired territory, as it was probably never conquered before by any other Paramara ruler of Malwa Lastly this success served as a soothing balm to wounded feelings of the people of Malava, who for long demanded retribution for the blood of their beloved master Vakpati—Munja It was due to all these reasons that Bhoja selected to give special publicity to this event of National importance by the distribution of generous gifts to the Brahmanas It appears that Bhoja's invasion of Lata and North Konkana was something like a continuous process or was the execution of a common plan and he, after conquering and consolidating his position in the former, attacked the latter almost in quick succession He attacked Lata sometime in A. D 1018 and his invasion of North Konkana may conveniently be fixed in the year 1018-1019, as we know that he completed the conquest of the latter by January 3, 1020 A D. His conquest of Northern Konkana is also attested by the Kalvan[1] inscription and by the Prabandhacintamani [2]

It appears that even after the Paramara conquest of Northern Konkana, the enemy continued to offer resistance for some-time, with the result that Bhoja could not annex the province to his empire immediately after its conquest It was on September 4, 1020 A D i e nine months after the celebration of the victory of Konkana, that the festival of the victorious occupation of Konkana was celebrated (Konkana-grahana vijaya parvani) [3]

1. "*Karnnata--Lata-Gurjjara-cedy-a (a) dhipa-Komkan-esa (Sa)-prabhrti-ripu Vargga-nirddarita-janita-trasa-yasa (so)-dhavalita-bhuvana travah Sri-Bhojadeva.*" lines 6–7, *E I*, vol XIX, pp 71-72

2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 44

3 *E. I*, vol XVIII, p 320.

Like the previous occasion, it was also marked by the distribution of gifts to brahmanas At this time the recepient of royal bounty was Pandita Delha, [1] son of Bhatta Thathasika, to whom the village of Nalatadaga was granted

It is difficult to say with certainty when Northern Konkana slipped away from the possession of the Paramaras but it appears that during the last decade of Bhoja's reign it ceased to be a part of his empire It is referred to in the Miraj plates of the Chalukya Jayasimha II dated A D 1024, that the king, having taken the wealth of the lords of the seven Konkanas, encamped near Kolhapur for the purpose of conquering the northern country.[2] On the basis of this evidence Diskalkar[3] is of the opinion that the Chalukya Jayasimha II wrested Konkana from Bhoja sometime before A D 1024, a view to which we with D C Ganguly[4] don't subscribe K A Nilakanta Sastri also thinks that when Bhoja attacked the chalukya kingdom, he occupied Lata and portions of Konkana for some years [5] Jayasimha II's general Chavanarasa claims to have conquered Pannala, also called Pranala and Parnala, which is identified with modern Panhala, twelve miles north-west of Kolhapur and stormed the fortress of Bijavodi [6] Taking together all the above evidence into consideration, we may arrive at certain conclusions Firstly, that Jayasimha II conquered the lords of the Seven Konkanas and deprived them of what they possessed Secondly, that after this victory, he with his general Chavanarasa conquered Panhala and Bijavodi and encamped near

1 *Ibid*

2 *"Sapta Komkanadhisvaranam Sarvvasvam grhitva Uttara-dig-Vijayartham Kolha (Ila?) pura-Samipa-Samavasita"* *I A.*, vol VIII, p 18

3 *E I*, vol XVIII, p 321

4 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 98

5. *A History of South India*, p 174

6. *The struggle for Empire*, pp 166-167

Kolhapur with an object to conquer the northern country The question, that may arise whether the kingdom of Northern Konkana was one of the Seven Konkanas, to which our reply is in the negative By A D, 1020 Northern Konkana was an integral part of the Paramara kingdom and Bhoja was its Adhisvara If Jayasimha was able to conquer Northern Konkana by A D. 1024, why in his own official record he failed to mention expressly the defeat of Bhoja, which was a matter of pride to him Why a novel practice is adopted in his Miraj plate for denoting an important historical event, when we find that the reverses of Bhoja are clearly referred to in the Chalukyan epigraphic records dated A D 1019[1] and 1028 [2] According to P V Kane the ruler of the Seven Konkanas referred to above must have been a Kadamba king of Goa [3] D. C Ganguly thinks that by the Seven Konkanas which Jayasimha conquered are meant the territories south of Kolhapur.[4] As the Kadamba Shashthadeva, ruler of Gove or Gopaka-pattana, modern Goa, acknowledged the supremacy of Jayasimha II, and as the Kadamba Jayakesin I, son of the former, who was a feudatory of the Chalukya Somesvara I and who is referred to as the king of Konkana, the view of Kane is more acceptable [5]

Further, the discovery of the Miraj plate clearly proves that Southern Maratha country formed a part of the Chalukya empire in A D. 1024 [6] Besides Karahataka, modern Karad, in the Satara district, Kolhapur and Panhala were the other headquarters of this dynasty of the Silahara princes, which ruled

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1 *I A*, vol V, p 17,

2. *E I* vol XV, p 330

3 *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental conference*, Poona, p 380

4 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 98. Foot note 2

5 *The Struggle for Empire*, pp 167. 172

6 *Ibid*, App p 184,

over the South Maratha country from the tenth century A D.[1] Like the other two ruling families of the Silaharas, the chiefs of this family were also originally feudatories of the Rashtrakutas but they had a more distinguished career After the downfall of the Rashtrakuta empire, they ruled as independent or semi-independent monarchs It was the ir this character of government, which invited aggression from outside and the Chalukya Jayasimha II asserted his supr emacy over Jatiga II, the Silahara ruler in A D 1024 Southern Konkana with its capital at Valipattana had been brought under his sway by Taila II with the help of his general Kesa (va)jiya and the Silahara ruler Avasara III or his son Rattaraja had to acknowledge his suzerainty [2] With these two Silahara kingdoms under his control, Jayasimha II was definitely in a commanding position to launch an attack against Northern Konkana, which lay to the North of Kolhapur, and which was under the possession of the Paramaras It was with this desire that the Chalukyan emperor encamped near Kolhapur and under the prevailing circumstances, it was quite natural for him to think of a conquest of the northern country But the evidence of the Miraj Plate is inconclusive to prove Jayasimha's conquest of Northern Konkana, as it merely speaks of a plan rather than a successful execution of it.

The Silahara Chittaraja, the immediate successor and nephew of Arikesari was the ruler of Northern Konkana in A D 1026 He took the title of Mahamandalesvara, which denotes his feudatory character A study of Arikesari's Thana plate[3] and of Chittaraja's Bhandup plate[4] shows that the latter ruled almost over the same territories, which were under the rule of the former On the death of Chittaraja, his brother

1 *Ibid*, p 176

2 *The struggle for Empire*, p 162

3 *E I*, vol XII, p 254,

4 *I A*, vol V, p 277

Mummuni came to the throne and it was during the reign of the latter that there was a civil war in Northern Konkana, which might have been the work of Nagarjuna, brother of Mummuni The Chalukya Somesvara I, sometime before A D 1047, invaded that country with his generals, the Kakatiya Prola, Kadamba Chamundaraja of Banavasi, the Yadava Ajjavasa, the Haihaya Revarasa, Madhusudana alias Madhuva, and Pulikesin, deposed Mummuni and placed his own nominee on its throne[1] If Jayasimha II had wrested Northern Konkana from the Paramaras sometime before A D 1024, why his successor Somesvara I attacked that country with his full military strength Are we to suppose that the force employed by him on this occasion was required to defeat an insignificant ruler like the Silahara Mummuni It appears that Mummuni ruled as a feudatory of Bhoja and this was the reason why Somesvara I challanged the imperial might of the Paramaras with his maximum strength, conquered Northern Konkana and took the drastic step of even removing its ruler from the throne It is this achievement of Somesvara I, which is possibly referred to in the Sudi inscription of his reign dated A D 1059, where he is praised for shattering the hosts of Konkana[2]

Bhoja employed arms and diplomacy as the means to achieve his desired end, which was the defeat and humiliation of his traditional enemy, the Chalukyas of Kalyana Rajendra I, Gangaikonda Chola ascended the throne in A D. 1012 and as the Chalukyas of Kalyana were the common enemy of the Cholas and the Paramaras, Bhoja had no difficulty in establishing an alliance with the Chola monarch. Sometime before A D 1019, with the inclusion of the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva the Dual Alliance expanded into the Triple Alliance About this time the allied forces made simultaneous attacks on the Deccan and though Bhoja was able to conquer and

1 *The struggle for Empire*, p 171

2 *E I*, vol XV, p 91

annex Northern Konkana to his kingdom, they suffered a reverse at the hands of the Chalukya monarch Jayasimha II, who, in one of the inscriptions dated A D 1019, is referred to as," a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja," and who" searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederate forces of Malava".[1] The same disaster is referred to in the Kulenur inscription of Jayasimha II dated A D 1028, which records that he routed the elephant squadrons of the Chola, Gangeya and Bhojaraja [2] Jayasimha II received valuable assistance in this defensive war from Kundiga (Kundamarasa), the feudatory governor of Banavasi [3] and from one of his vassals Baciraja, who is eulogised for having put the Malavyas to shame by his victorious arms [4] But in this struggle the final victory appears to have rested with Bhoja, as both the Kalvan[5] inscription and the Udayapur[6] Prasasti refer to it in unequivocal terms In the Kalvan inscription, Bhoja's victory over the Karnatas is distinguished from that of over Konkana, a fact, which may go to show that in addition to the conquest of Northern Konkana, Bhoja defeated the Chalukyas.

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1 *I A*, vol V, p 17
"bhojanrpambhoja rajan ina nibha tejan"

2 *E I*, vol XV, p 330,

3 *Ibid*, p 333

4 *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No 8, p 20, V 37

5 *"Karnnata-Lata-Gurjjara-cedy-a(a) dhipa-Komkan-esa (Sa)-prabhrti-ripu Vargga-nirddarita-janita-trasa-yasa (So)-dhavalita-bhuvanatrayah Sri-Bhojadeva"*
Lines 6-7, *E I*, vol XIX, pp 71-72

6 *"Cedisvar-Emdrarathа-(Togga) la-(Bhimanu) Khyan Karnnata-Lata-pati-Gurjjara-rat-Turuskan| Yad-bhrtya-matra-Vijitan avalo (kya) maula dosnam Va (ba) lani Kalayamti na (Yoddhr)-lo (kan)||*
E I, vol I, p 235, V 19.

There is also literary evidence, which testifies to the fact that Bhoja led a successful campaign against the Karnata kingdom, though Rajavallabh and Merutunga differ as regards the time and circumstances of such an attack According to the Bhoja-Carita, Bhoja attacked the Chalukyas soon after his accession to the throne, but it appears from the prabandha-cintamani that he had forgotten the duty of punishing them [1] Rajavallabh narrates an interesting story in this connection According to him when Bhoja attained youth and took up the reins of government, a drama was staged in the Royal presence at the instance of Kusumavati, the wife of Munja A scene depicted the tragic death of Munja at the hands of Tailapa, which enraged Bhoja and he, in order to avenge the death of his uncle, invaded Tailapa with a large army On this expedition Kusumavati followed Bhoja, dressed in a male attire Tailapa was captured on the battle field and Bhoja subjected him to severe indignities, by way of reprisals, and finally executed him After this Kusumavati passed the rest of her life as a Buddhist nun on the bank of the river Saraswati [2]. There are some glaring historical inaccuracies in the story and the truth of it can very well be doubted Taila II or Tailapa was not a contemporary of Bhoja and he died (A D 997) about a decade earlier to the accession of the latter As such the portion of the story, which relates to the execution of Tailapa by Bhoja stands discredited But on the basis of this doubtful evidence, R G Bhandarkar[3] guesses that Bhoja may have defeated Tailapa's grandson Vikramaditya V (A D 1008-1014) and took his life as a penalty for the death of his uncle Munja It is true that the Chalukya Vikramaditya V was a weak ruler and had a very short reign (A D 1008-1014) but as there is not the least evidence to prove that there had been a war

1 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 45

2 *Raja Bhoja* (Hindi), p 69, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 90,

3. *The Early History of the Deccan*, p 61

between the Chalukyas and the Paramaras between A D 1008 and 1018, the view of R G Bhandarkar is open to grave doubts We tried to show earlier that at the time of his accession as Bhoja was militarily weak, he was not in a position to risk a war against the Chalukyas The evidence of the prabandhacintamani also goes against the view of the learned scholar Merutunga mentions that Bhoja invaded the Chalukya kingdom at a time when the Chaulukya Bhima occupied the throne of Gujarat[1] Bhima ascended the throne in V S 1077 (=1020 A D)[2] and as such his Chalukyan contemporary ruler was Jayasimha II and not Vikramaditya V, who was dead by A D 1014.

On the other hand, Pandit G S Ojha[3] on the basis of a verse in the Vikramankadevacarita[4] thinks that the Chalukya Jayasimha II died on the battlefield, presumably in a war against Bhoja The verse recounts that, "Filling the whole of Svarga (Heaven) with the fame of his victories, Jayasimha received a garland of flowers, culled from the Parijata tree, from Indra's own hands" In the ancient hindu mythology a hero, who died on the battlefield was garlanded by the 'apsaras', whereas, we find here in that Jayasimha received a garland of flowers at the hands of Indra and it is on this ground that Venkatarama Ayyar[5] objects to Pandit Ojha's interpretation of the verse As we hear of close relationship of the apsaras with Indra, the objection, though technically valid, does not appear to be strong enough as to reject the evidence completely If we consider this evidence together with that

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1. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 45
2 *Ibid*, p 30
3 *History of the Solankis*, Part I, pp 87 ff, Ajmer, 1907
4 'यशोवतस नगर सुराणा कुर्वन्नगर्व समरोत्सवेपु ।
न्यस्ता स्वहस्तेन पुरदरस्य म पारिजातस्त्रजमाससाद ॥'

Sarga I, V. 86

5 *I A*, vol XLVIII, p 118

of the Bhoja-carita and if we try to read between the lines, we may arrive at a certain conclusion As we do not find any inscription after A D 1028 of the reign of Jayasimha II, which records the Paramara-Chalukya conflict, it appears that during this period of lull, Bhoja prepared himself for a final assault against Karnataka, which came shortly before A D 1043 Jayasimha II was vanquishe l and probably lost his life on the battlefield D C Ganguly[1] also thinks that Pandit Ojha's view is nearer to the truth

Merutunga[2] gives an account of the circumstances, which led Bhoja to attack the kingdom of the western Chalukyas According to him, in a certain year there was a famine in Gujarat and people and animals suffered much due to scarcity of grain and grass respectively. At the same time Bhima, the ruler of Gujarat received an information from his representatives ("Sthanapurusaih") that Bhoja was preparing for an invasion of his country The news gave much anxiety to him and he ordered Damara, his diplomatic agent, who was an extremely clever fellow, to prevent the invasion at that juncture at any cost, if necessary, even by paying some money by way of fine to Bhoja Damara was exceedingly ugly and, therefore, when he presented himself before Bhoja, the latter enquired from him jokingly,—

" Tell me how many messengers are there, belonging to your king, holding the office of Minister of Peace and war" ?

Damara replied,—

"Many like me, O Malva king, they are of three degrees

As foreign courts are low or medium or high in rank".

1. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 91
2. *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 43-45

Bhoja appreciated the sarcastic reply of Damara but soon after this conversation he ordered the drums to be beaten as a signal for the army to march towards Gujarat At the time of beginning the march, a few bards of Malava came forward and standing in front of the king offered him laudations, as was customary with them on such occasions One of them proclaimed,

"The Chola is entering the bosom of the great sea
The Andhra is hiding in caves of the mountains,
The king of Karnata is standing bareheaded,
The Gurjara Raja has fled to the torrents,
The warrior monarch of Cedi is trembling,
The Lord of Kanauj is bent double with terror,
O Bhoja, the fear of thy army alarms[1] all" Another proclaimed thus,[2]

"The floor of thy prison is crowded with princes,
They are fighting for places for spreading their beds on,
When a new one arrives there, an inmate exclaims loud,
The Konkana sleeps in a corner, the Lata,
At the door, the Kalinga does lie in the courtyard,
You, Kosala lord, just arrived here, my father,
Did use to abide on this level spot here, Sir"

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1 चौल क्रोड पयोर्धविशति निवसते रन्ध्रमन्ध्रोगिरीन्द्रे ।
कर्णाट पट्टवन्ध न भजति भजते गूर्जरो निझराणि ।
चेदिर्लेलीयतेस्त्रै क्षितिपतिसुभट कान्यकुब्जोत्र कुब्जो ।
भोज ! त्वत्तन्त्रमात्र प्रसरभयमख्याकुलो राजलोक ।
Prabandhacintamani, p 44

2 इत्थ यस्य विवर्द्धितो निशिमिथ प्रत्यर्थिना सस्तर
स्यानन्यासभुवा विरोधकलह कारानिकेतक्षितौ ।।
कोणे कौङ्कणक कपाटनिकटे लाट कलिङ्गोङ्गणे
त्व रे कोशल । नूतनो मम पिताप्यत्रोषित स्थण्डिले ।।
Prabandhacintamani, p 44

Before the army actually started, a drama was staged taking off all the kings of the time One of the scenes was laid in a prison, where Tailapa had established himself in a comfortable place, whom another newly arrived king asked to give up the corner he was occupying Tailapa replied," I have an ancestral holding here, why should I leave my own home at the bidding of a new—comer like you[1] ?" Bhoja was pleased with the flattering reference and turned to Damara with a praise for the display of wit in the play. Damara replied, "The wit is no doubt extraordinary, but this mighty king Tailapadeva is recognised by having the head of king Munja fixed on a stake [2]" As he uttered these words publicly before all the court, Bhoja was so stung by his sarcasm that he was reminded of his sacred duty to punish the Chalukyas for the tragic fate of his uncle He gave up his original plan of attacking Gujarat and ordered his army to march against the country of Tilanga (Karnataka)

On the death Jayasimha II, he was succeeded by his son and successor the Chalukya Somesvara I sometime in A D. 1043 As soon after his accession, he was involved in a protracted war with the Cholas and as within a short period of four years i e. between A D 1043 and 1047 he had to face two invasions of his kingdom at the hands of the Chola Rajadhiraja, the possibility of his attack against Malava, during this period, can very well be ruled out. Moreover, it is clear from the Tilakwada[3] copper plate that in A D 1047, the illustrious Jasoraja, who was apparently a governor of Bhoja, ruled over the samgamakheta-mandala, which comprised of the territories covered by the former Baroda State The next four years of Somesvara I's reign were comperatively peaceful, as

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1 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 45

2 *Ibid*

3 *Proceedings and Transactions of the first Oriental Conference* Poona, 1919, p 319.

the Cholas gave him not much anxiety. we suggest that it was during this period i e from A D 1047 to 1051 that Somesvara I planned and launched a formidable attack against the paramara kingdom of Malava, plundered Mandapa (Modern Mandu, Madhya-Pradesh), Ujjayini and Dhara, the Paramara capital and compelled Bhoja to flee away The intensity of the Chalukyan attack indirectly proves that Somesvara I was determined to punish Bhoja severely for the wrong, which he had done to his father Jayasimha II

There is sufficient evidence, both literary and epigraphic, to prove the fact of Somesvara I's successful military campaign against Malava Bilhana, the court-poet of the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI (A D 1076-1126) narrates in his Vikramankadeva-Carita that when Ahavamalla (Somesvara I) stormed and sacked Dhara, king Bhoja deserted his capital and after which the Chalukyas took possession of the city The poet describes Somesvara I as a king,

"Whose sword,[1] *appearing thirsty owing to the nearness of the blazing fire of his valour, swallowed the noble (City of) Dhara,*

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1 *Vikramankadeva-caritam*, Sarga I, 91-94, 96.

"Dipra pratap-anala-Samnidhanad bibhrat pipasam iva yat-Krpanah/Pramara-prthvi pati-kirti-dharam Dharam Udaram Kavalicakara// 91

Agadha-paniya-nimagna-bhuri-bhubhrt-Kutumbo' piyadiya-Khadgah/ Bhagya-Ksayan Malava-bhartur asid ekam na Dharam parihartum isah// 92

Nihsesa-nirvasita-raja-hamsah Khadgena bal-ambuda-mecakena/ Bhoja-ksama-bhrd-bhuja panjare' piyah Kirti hamsim virasi-Cakara// 93

Bhoja-Ksamapala-vimukta-Dhara-nipata-matrena ranesu Yasya/ Kalpanta-Kalanala-Canda-murtis citram prakopagnir avapa Santim// 94

"एका गृहीता यदनेन धारा
धारासहस्त्र यशसो विकीर्णम्" ॥९६॥

which was the dhara (stream) of the renown of the Pramara (Paramara) lord of the earth,

Whose sword, even after drowning many royal families in a bysmal waters, could not, owing to the decline of the fortunes of the king of Malava, stop short of capturing the sole (unparalleled city of) Dhara,

Who, having completely defeated the royal swans (the best kings) by his sword, dark (powerful) as the young (newly risen) cloud, killed the swan of the fame, which was encaged (as it were) in the arms of king Bhoja,

Whose fierce fire of heroism, glowing in battles, which was like the fire that consumes the universe at the time of its destruction (Kalantakalagni), was quenched wonderfully (quickly) when he plunged into the (dhara) stream (i e, entered into the city of Dhara) deserted by king Bhoja"

It is clear from this evidence that Somesvara I captured the city of Dhara, only when it was deserted by Bhoja It appears that due to heavy military pressure of the Chalukyas, Bhoja fled from his capital for sometime on strategical grounds to make further preparations for striking a decisive blow at the enemy Somesvara I's punitive expedition against Malava ended soon and he could not keep his control over Dhara for long We do not agree with the view of K A Nilakanta Sastri[1] that Somesvara I's raid on Dhara compelled Bhoja to accept his suzerainty, as there is not the least direct evidence to this effect It is true that Bhoja suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Chalukyan ruler, but it is unreasonable to infer from the available evidence that the former submitted to the latter Moreover, Bhoja was not a ruler to be easily cowed down and his military career was in no way inferior to that of Somesvara I

1 *A History of South India* p 176

The fact of the Chalukyan expeditions against Malava can also be inferred from a Sloka of the Kuvalayananda, awork on Alankaras, the authorship of which is attributed to Appaya Dixit By means of a dialogue between the ccean and the Narmada, the poet, while refering to the Kuntalesvara's attack on Malava, mentions that due to tears, mixed with black Collyrium, that fell down from the eyes of widows of Malava, the water of the Narmada appeared black as that of the Yamuna The verse does not refer to the lord of Kuntala by name, but it appears that the event to which it points out is of that of the time of Somesvara I [1]

Several Chalukyan inscriptions ranging from A D 1058 to 1067, corroborate the above literary evidence and point out that the Chalukya Somesvara I invaded Malava with a powerful army, which consisted of atleast his four generals namely Nagadeva, Gundamaya, Jomarasa and Madhuva or Madhusudana Almost all the important cities of the kingdom of Malava, namely, Dhara, Ujjayini and Mandapa (Mandu) were captured, plundered and finally put to flames by the enemy The battle of Dhara went against Bhoja, who had to retire, leaving the capital at the mercy of the Chalukyas What a great havoc and devastation was created by the enemy, it can very well be estimated, and it is no surprise if the entire Paramara administrative machinery was temporarily paralysed and was brought to a standstill More serious consequences of this invasion were, Firstly, that it adversely affected Bhoja s reputation as," a military leader during the last phase of his life

1 Kuvalayanandah, Hindi vayakhya (B S Vyas) Chap 27, p 114 (1956)

कालिन्दि ? बृहि कुम्भोद्‌भव । जलधिरह, नाम गृह्णासि कस्माच्छत्रोर्मे,
नर्मदाह, त्वमपि वदसि मे नाम कस्मात्सपत्न्या ? ।
मालिन्य तर्हि कस्मादनुभवसि ?, मिलत्कज्जलैर्मालवीना
' नेत्राम्भोभि , किमासा समजनि ?, कुपित कुन्तलक्षोणिपाल ॥

Raja Bhoja (Hindi), p 71

Secondly, that it pushed back the southern boundary of the Paramara kingdom of Malava, which in the earlier part of Bhoja's reign extended upto the river Godavari, Khandesh and Northern Konkana, to the river Narmada Thirdly, that while on one hand it gave a serious set back to the stability and the strength of the Paramara government, on the other it gave an opportunity to the neighbouring ambitious powers to take advantage of the situation

The Nagai[1] inscription of Madhuva or Madhusudana, who was a feudatory of Somesvara I, and which is dated Saka 980 (=1058 A D) not only refers to the burning of Dhara and Ujjayini by the Chalukya sovereign but also gives credit to Madhusudana for driving away the lord of Dhara from his capital. The Sudi inscription[2] dated A D 1059-1060 mentions Ahavamalla (Somesvara I) as, " a submarine fire to the whole of the ocean that is the race of the Malavyas" Nagadeva, a general of Somesvara I is referred to in the same inscription as "a Garuda to the serpent Bhoja", which indicates a defeat of Bhoja by him[3] Gundamaya a general and the dandanayaka of Somesvara I is glorified in an inscription dated A D 1060 by stating that he was, "a royal swan, strolling on both the banks of the Narmada, an evil comet to the Malava people, capturer of the fort named Mandapa (modern Mandu), and was held in honour in the city of Dhara."[4] Jomarasa, another general and a feudatory of Somesvara I boasts himself as," a flame of doom to Bhoja" in the Hottur inscription

1. *Hyderabad Archaeological series*, No 8, p 20

2 "*Malavya-Vamsarnnav-akhilad Aurbvanalan*. ... . E I, vol XV, p 87, V 2

3 "*Bhoja-bhujamgahi-dvisam*" E I, vol XV, p 88, V. 5.

4 *An Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1929*, pp. 68-69.

dated A D 1067.[1] Another Chalukyan[2] epigraphic record informs us that the city of Dhara, which proved invincible to early kings, was assailed by Somesvara I

The Ubayapur Prasasti records Bhoja's victory over the Turuskas, which he achieved by means of his mercenaries [3] This is corroborated by the evidence of the Bhavisya Purana, where it is mentioned that Bhoja with an army of ten thousand soldiers and alongwith Kalidasa, crossed the river Sindhu (Indus) and conquered Gandhar and Kashmir together with the mlecchas and the Arabs [4] It may be pointed out that due to the lack of direct and clear evidence on this point, it is difficult for us to assess correctly Bhoja's contribution to the defence of Northern India against the incursions of the Muslims Whatever evidence has come down to us, it only allows to guess and as such a correct approach to the problem becomes difficult In the annals of Orissa Bhoja is referred to as having ruled from B C 184 to B C. 57 and as Stirling points out, he is said to have routed the army of the yavanas from Sind [5] Kielhorn identifies this Bhoja with the Paramara Bhoja of Malwa, who is ante-dated by about twelve centuries [6] It can not be denied that the evidentiary

1 *E I*, vol XVI, p 86

2. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1928*, p 72, lines 13

3 *E I*, vol I, p 235, V 19

4 भूपतिर्दशमो योवै भोजराज इति स्मृत ।
दृष्ट्वा प्रक्षीणमर्यादा बली दिग्विजय ययौ ।।२।।
सेनया दशसाहस्या कालिदासेन सयुत ।
तथान्यैर्ब्राह्मणै सार्द्ध सिन्धुपारमुपाययौ ।।३।।
जित्वा गाधारजान्म्लेच्छान्काश्मीरान्नारवाञ्छठान् ।
तेषा प्राप्य महाकोश दडयोग्यानकारयत् ।।४।।
Bhavisya Purana, Pratisarga Parva, vol 3, chap 3, p 283

5 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 101-102

6 *E I*, vol III, p 338

value of the accounts, both of the Bhavisya Purana and of the annals of Orissa, is of a doubtful nature but it almost establishes the fact that Bhoja was not a silent spectator to what was happening in the North, due to the Turkish depredations, and it seems whenever a defence was organised against the Muslims, he contributed to it by sending his mercenaries to fight against the foreigners, though nothing definite is known where and when his troops encountered this enemy As Malava was never invaded by the Turks during his reign, it can reasonably be presumed that his troops fought against them outside his realm

From the earliest times to the period under review and even afterwards, the foreign invaders entered Hindustan through its border province in the North-west and as such the rulers of that country were the first to bear the brunt of the foreign attack During the closing years of the tenth century A D and in the first year of the next centu y, Jayapala of the Brahmana Hindu Shahiya dynasty of Waihand (Udabhandapur), whose kingdom extended from Sarhind to Lamghan or laghman and from the borders of Kashmir to Multan,[1] was the first India ruler to check the advance of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in India The Shahi kings, inspite of the reverses, which they suffered at the hands of the Turks, continued to offer resistance against them and in fact the entire ruling dynasty perished in the struggle for freedom Jayapala, overwhelmed, with shame and mortification, due to his defeat at the hands of Mahmud in A D 1001, preferred death to dishonour and perished in the flames of a funeral pyre. Anandapala, his son and successor, was attacked by Mahmud for the second time in A D 1008, for having refused permission to the passage of the Muslim army, through his dominions on its way to Multan, in the autumn of A D 1005[2] Being aware of the intentions of the Sultan,

1 *Firishta (Briggs)*, vol I, p 15

2. *The Cambridge History of India*, (1958), vol III, p 15

Anandapala, on this occasion emulated the example[1] of his father and appealed for help to other Hindu rajas Firishta informs that "In the year 399 H(1008 A D) Mahmud having collected his forces, determined again to invade Hindustan, and to punish Anandpal who had shewn much insolence during the late invasion of Multan Anandpal, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India as a sacred duty Accordingly, the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwaliar, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer entered into a confederacy, and, collecting their forces, advanced towards the Panjab with a greater army than had ever before taken the field against Amir Sabuktigin Anandpal himself took the command, and advanced to meet the invader"[2] It seems improbable that all the states referred to by Firishta actually took part in the campaign, as Delhi and Ajmer were not yet powerful enough to lend support to the coalition[3] Wolseley Haig is also of the same view, when he says that, "the number and consequence of his allies are perhaps exaggerated, but it is evident from Mahmud's excessive caution that Anandpal had received a considerable accession of strength and that the army which he led into the field was a very different force from that which Mahmud had so easily brushed aside on his way to Multan"[4] V A Smith[5] though accepts Firishta's statement as correct, it should be taken with due reservation as none of the early Muslim historians refers to the participation of the other Hindu Rajas in the battle However, two facts are almost clear Firstly, that Anandapala organised a confederacy

1 *Firishta (Briggs)*, vol I, p 18

2 *Firishta (Briggs)* vol I, p 46-47, *Elliot's History of India*, vol II, pp 446 ff

3. *History of Medieval India*, (Ishwari Prasad) 1940, p 80

4 *The Cambridge History of India*, (1958) vol III, pp 15-16

5 *Oxford History of India*, (IInd Ed) p 191

and many Rajas of Hindustan either marched in person or sent troops to his assistance Secondly, that he collected a large force to defend the honour and liberty of his mother land against the Turks As Ujjayini or Ujjain continued to be the capital of the Paramara government of Malava in the early years of the Eleventh century A.D , the Raja of Ujjain, as referred to by Firishta, was probably Bhoja, who ascended the throne in A D 1008 It appears that soon after his accession Bhoja despatched his troops to assist Anandapala in his fight against the Turks, a reference to which is possibly made in the Udayapur Prasasti [1] Inspite of his heroism, Anandapala lost the battle and according to Firishta when the Hindus were in sight of a victory, Anandapala's elephant took fright and bore his rider from the field This was taken as the signal for flight by the Hindu army, which dispersed in confusion [2] Anandapala died in A D 1012[3] and after him his son and successor Trilochanapala continued the struggle against the Turks from his capital Nandana in the Salt Range In the winter of A.D 1013 Mahmud attacked Nandana, defeated the Shahis and captured the capital Trilochanapala, who had rallied his surviving forces in the Kashmir valley resisted Mahmud but was again defeated by the Sultan and had to flee to the Eastern Punjab, probably Sirhind The Shahi ruler refused to submit to the Sultan and about A,D 1019 when he was hard pressed by Mahmud, he fled to the Paramara kingdom of Malava, where Bhoja gave him shelter [4]

The most important Indian expedition of Mahmud was directed against the famous temple of Somanatha on the

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1 *E I*, vol I, p 235, V 19

2 *Firishta* (Briggs) vol I, pp 46-47.

3 *The struggle for Empire*, p 11, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (New Ed) p 192.

4 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 67.

sea-shore, in Kathiawar, in the year A H 416[1] (A D 1025) Historians differ[2] about Mahmud's date of departure from Ghazni but it appears that he left his capital on Oct 17, 1024[3] A. D. at the head of an army which consisted of thirty-thousand cavalry[4] and a multitude of volunteers from Turkistan and other countries, who joined him with the hope of getting wealth He reached Multan on November[5] 20, 1024 A D though K M Munshi[6] thinks that he rested there until November 26, (A D 1025) and decided to march along the desert route to reach his destination If Farruqi's Qasida[7] is to be believed, the Sultan first captured Ludrava Pass, modern Lodorva, 10 miles north-west of Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) Advancing further through Mallani, he reached Chiklodarmata hill, 17 miles north of Palanpur in Gujarat Next he proceeded towards Nahrwala, which is identical with Anahillapataka, the capital of Gujarat. Wolseley Haig[8] and others,[9] accepting the account of Firishta, think that Mahmud on his way to Somanatha reached Ajmer or rather the Chauhan (Chahamana) capital of Sambhar (Sakambhari), which was thoroughly sacked and the raja fled away From Sambhar the Sultan marched towards Nahrwala or Anhilvara, now known as Patan,

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1 *Alberuni's India* (Sachau) vol II, p 103

2. *Al-Ta'rikh-ul-Kamil*, vol IX, p 248, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (New Ed) p 201

3 *The Cambridge History of India* (1958) vol III, p 23, *The struggle for Empire*, p 19

4 *Al-Ta'rikh-ul-Kamil*, vol IX, p 248

5 *The Cambridge History of India* (1958) vol III, p 23,

6 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) p 201

7 Quoted by Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, App , See also Nazim, *Somnath Expedition of Mahmud, J R A S* 1928 p 235

8 *The Cambridge History of India* (1958) vol III, pp 23-24

9 Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India* (1940), pp 90-91

in Gujarat, and reached there early in January, 1025[1] The Chaulukya Bhima I, the ruler of the country was taken by surprise at the sudden and unexpected appearance of the Sultan and fled from his capital probably to Kanthakot, 16 miles north-east of Anjar, in Kutch (cutch)[2] But a later muslim historian Khond Amir disagrees with Ibn Athir, when he mentions that it was the commander of Anahilavada who took refuge at Kanthkot[3] In any case, it is clear from this evidence that when Mahmud occupied Anahilavada, Bhima I had deserted his capital and had retired to a safe place with a view to re-occupy it as soon as the menace was over Mahmud occupied the city and replenished his stock of water and provisions From there he marched to Mundher (Modhera) and thence to Dewalwara(Delvada), modern Delvada, 40 miles east of Somanatha In the course of his march in the desert of Kathiawar, somewhere between Mundher and Dewalwara, he encountered a force of 20,000 enemy troops, which was apparently part of Bhimadeo's[4] army The Chaulukyan army, inspite of heroic resistance, was defeated and dispersed The inhabitants of Dewalwara preferred death to dishonour and paid heavily with their lives, when they offered a stubborn resistance against Mahmud, who finally succeeded in breaking it down The road to Somanath now lay unobstructed before him

It was in the middle of January, 1025[5] when Mahmud reached Somanatha and on the following day he began the

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1 K M Munshi thinks that Mahmud reached Anahilavada by the end of December 1025 A D, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed), p 201

2 *The struggle for Empire*, p 20, *Ibn Athir*, *Kamil*, vol IX, 243 ff, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol II, p 961.

3 H M Elliot and J Dawson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol IV, p 183

4 *The Cambridge History of India*, (1958) vol III, p 24

5 According to K M Munshi it was on the 6th of January, 1026 when Mahmud invested the fort of Prabhasa *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed), p 202

assault against a strongly defended fort of Prabhasa The Muslims achieved some initial success when they drove away the Hindus from the walls and by means of their scaling ladders climbed up to the battlements But the invaders could not consolidate their position in face of a violent attack by the defenders, who were determined to fight and to die in defence of their beloved shrine They failed to withstand this onslaught and by dusk they were compelled to retreat from the city On the next morning i e on the third day the Turks renewed their attackwith greater vigour and intensity and the Hindus, though offered a stiff and brave resistance, failed to check the advance of the enemy Being pursued by the Muslims through the streets they fled towards the temple of Somanath and crowded in front of its gate A sanguinary battle ensued there and more than 50,000 hindus, after offering their last prayers to the deity for the victory of their arms, plunged into the fight and sacrificed their lives to prevent the pollution of the cherished idol If Firishta[1] is to be believed, it was on this day that reinforcements came under Bhima, whom the Muslim chroniclers[2] write as Dabshilim, to inspire the Hindus with fresh courage and to relieve the garrison but Mahmud attacked and routed the army, slaying 5,000 Hindus But as this is not corroborated by any other authority, it is difficult to accept it The Sultan made a triumphal entry into the temple and with a blow of his mace smashed the solid[3] sacred Siva-linga into pieces He looted the vast wealth, which the temple contained and then burnt it and razed it to the ground[4]

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1 *Firishta* (Briggs) vol I, pp 70-71, *Elliot History of India*, vol IV, p 182, Footnote

2 Ishawari Prasad, *History of Medieval* India (1940), p 92, footnote

3. *Albaruni's India* (Sachau), vol II, p 103

4 H M Elliot and J Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol II, p 249

After a short stay for a fortnight[1] at Somanatha, Mahmud started on his return journey home As he was in possession of the vast wealth, which is said to have been worth 20,000,000 dirhams,[2] his anxiety about a safe return journey is understandable There is no difference of opinion among the historians on the point that Mahmud did not return back to Ghazni by the same route by which he came Why he retreated through Kutch and Sindh, a route, which passed through the desert and was perilous ? A possible explanation to this may be found in the accounts of the Muslim chroniclers Al-Gardizi and Ibn-ul- Athir Kitab-Zain-ul-Akhabar, Which is the earliest of the sources, mentions, "from that place Mahmud turned back, the reason being that Param Deo, who was the king of the Hindus, was in the way, and Amir Mahmud feared lest this great victory might be spoiled He did not come back by the direct way, but took a guide and marching by the way of Mansura and the bank of the Sihun, went towards Multan His soldiers suffered heavily on the way both from the dryness of the desert and from the Jats of Sind Many animals and a large number of men of the Muslim army perished on the way, and most of the beasts of burden died, till at last they reached Multan[3] " The Tayaqat-i-Akbari corroborates this evidence, where it is mentioned that," The Sultan raised his standard with the intention of returning, but as Param Deo, one of the most powerful of the Rajas of Hindustan, had to be met on the way, he did not, in all the circumstances consider it advisable to fight with him at that time So he turned towards Multan

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1 The struggle for Empire, p 21, K M Munshi thinks Mahmud's period of stay at Somanath for about one month and a half, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed) pp 202-203.

2 *The struggle for Empire*, p 20

3 *Kitab-Zain-ul-Akbar* of Abu-Sa 'il' Abdul-Hay b ad-Dahhak b Muhammad gardizi (c 400 A H), ed Muhmad Nazim, 86-87

by way of Sindh His troops endured great privations en route, in some places on account of scarcity of water, and in others for want of fodder; but atlast, after suffering great distress and hardship, he reached Ghazni in the year A H. 417(A D 1026) "[1] This information is also contained in Firishta [2] A few facts are clear from this evidence Firstly, that as Mahmud was afraid of the military strength of Param Deo, he deliberately avoided a contest with him, who stood with his formidable army on the way to settle accounts with the invader on his return Secondly, that as the Sultan was extremely anxious for the safety of the vast wealth, which he was carrying, with him to his capital, he, under all circumstances, considered it inadvisable to fight with Param Deo at that time Thirdly, that Param Deo was one of the greatest Rajas of Hindustan And lastly, that it was after suffering great distress and hardship and a loss of men and animals due to the waterless desert and from the raids of the jats of Sind that Mahmud reached Multan

Who was this Param Deo, who struck a terror in the heart of Mahmud, who was a hero of several battles and was one of the best generals of his age ? Firishta[3] considers this Param Deo as Bhima of Gujarat, an identification which is accepted by D. C Ganguly [4] But several scholars like C V Vaidya[5] and K M Munshi[6] doubt this identification and maintain that by Param Deo is meant "Paramara-deva", who is to be identified with Bhoja It is suggested that Param Deo may be a corruption of either Paramaradeva or of Bhoja's title

1. *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, Bibliotheca India Translated by B Dey, p 15-16, Elliot, *History of India*, vol II, pp, 473-474
2 Elliot, *History of India*, vol VI, 219-220
3. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, (Briggs) vol I, p. 57
4 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 100-101, *The struggle for Empire*, p 23
5 *Downfall of Hindu India*, p 158
6. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p 205 (New Ed)

Paramesvara-Paramabhattaraka [1] As the Chaulukya Bhima had ascended the throne only a few years before Mahmud's invasion of Somanath and as the kingdom of Gujarat had yet to attain an imperial status, it is difficult to accept him as "one of the most powerful of the Rajas of Hindustan" Besides this, as both Al—Gardizi and Nizamud -Din refer to the Raja of Naharawala (Anahilavada) differently from Param Deo,[2] the identification of Bhima with the latter becomes doubtful The Chaulukyan forces were defeated by the Sultan early in January 1025 and as stated earlier, Bhima had taken shelter in the fort of Kandahat, identified with Kanthakot, in Kutch [3] Under there circumstances, it was an uphill task for Bhimadeva to organise and to mobilize a large army under his leadership, with in a short period of a fortnight or three weeks, to give a battle to Mahmud on his return journey Moreover, as he failed to exhibit his true martial qualities against the Turks, the Sultan had no cause to fear him, as he knew very well the metal of which he was made In fact, as against Bhima, it appears, that Mahmud had developed an immense confidence in him and that is why in the course of his homeward march he attacked the fort of Kandahat or the island fortress of Beyt Shankhodhar,[4] captured it and put him to flight It is doubted whether Bhima was there in person,[5] though according to one authority[6] some of the ladies of Bhimadeo's family fell as captives into the hands of Mahmud

The Muslim expedition against Somanath, which was India's greatest shrine, had spread a deep and a wide feeling of resentment among the Rajput aristocracy of the time against the foreigners It was but natural, as Mahmud by his wanton

1 *Ibid*
2 *Ibid*
3. The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, p 119.
4 *The Cambridge History of India* (1958) vol. III, p 25
5 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol II, p 953 ff
6 *The Cambridge History of India* (1958) vol III, p 25

act had wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus to the most The Paramara Bhoja had a special reason to take the destruction and the pillage of the temple as his personal loss and an injury to his reputation According to the Udayapur Prasasti[1] the temple of Somanatha was rebuilt by him Moreover by A D. 1025 Bhoja had established his claim to be a great military leader and was the unquestioned master of an empire In fact he was," one of the most powerful of the Rajas of Hindustan". Keeping in view the facts, that Alberuni[2] knows Bhojadeva to be the ruler of Malwa in his days and that the Sultan's successive expeditions against Hindustan, which he carried almost every year, it can be presumed that Bhoja's[3] fame as a distinguished warrior-king reached the ears of Mahmud Bhoja had a regular standing army and was definitely in a better position than Bhima to organise a confederacy of the neighbouring chiefs under his leadership to obstruct Malmud en route. The most important rulers of Rajputana, at that time were that of Sakambhari,[4] Nadol and Medapata (Mewar). Bhoja, who possibly had not yet come into conflict with the first two of these states, collected the confederate forces and closed with a formidable army the line by which Mahmud had advanced. As Bhima was on friendly terms with Bhoja, during the earliest years of his reign[5] and as he was also associated with the construction of the temple of Somanath[6] , the possibility of his being a member of the confederacy may not be

1. *E I*, vol 1, p 236

   केदार-रामेश्वर-सोमनाथ-मुण्डीर-कालानल-रुद्रसत्कै ।

   सुराश्रयैर्व्याप्य च य समन्ताद्यथार्थसंज्ञा जगती चकार ॥२०॥

2. *Alberuni's India* by Sachau, p 191.
3. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 41
4. *The Cambridge History of India* (1958) vol III, p 25-26
5. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 41.
6. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (New Ed), p 206

ruled out According to the Tarikh-i-Sorath, one of the confederate princes was Mandalika, the Abhira ruler of Somanath [1]

Firishta states that," in the year 435 A H (=1043 A D) the raja of Delhi, in conjunction with other rajas retook Hansy, Tahnesur and their dependencies, from the governors to whom Madood had entrusted them The Hindus from thence marched towards the fort of Nagrakote, which they besieged for four months, and the garrison, being distressed for provisions, and no succours coming from Lahore, was under tha necessity of capitulating [2] " It is clear from this account that the raja of Delhi who was Mahipal, [3] organised a confederacy of the Hindu chiefs and conquered Hansi, Thaneswar, Nagarkot and other dependencies of the Muslims Encouraged by this success, the confederate forces under Mahipal besieged the city of Lahore for seven months [4] It is difficult to say who were the members of this confederacy, but taking into account the evidence of the Udayapur Prasasti, [5] it may be suggested that Bhoja was, possibly, one of them, who sent his troops to the assistance of the raja of Delhi in his war against the Turks [6] As stated earlier, there is no definite evidence to show where and when Bhoja's troops fought against the Turks, but his contribution to the

1. *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, Trans, by Ranchodji Amarji, (Bombay, 1882), p 112.

2 *Firishta* (Brigg's) vol I, p 118, *Cambridge History of India* (1958) vol III, pp. 32-33.

3. *Cambridge History of India* (1958) vol III, p 32.

4. *Ibid*, p 33. Firishta (Brigg's) vol I, p 118

5. *E I.*, vol I, p. 235, V. 19

6. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 101, *The struggle for Empire*, p 67.

defence of Northern India against their incursions was so significant that it was remembered by the Gahadavalas even long after his death [1]

The Udayapur Prasasti[2] also records Bhoja's decisive victory over a prince named Indraratha The mere fact, that his name finds place together with the other royal personages in this epigraphic record, is sufficient to show that he was not an insignificant ruler Rajendra I chola is referred to in some of his inscriptions, as having conquered some Indraratha of the Lunar race in the battle of Adinagara The Tiruvavalangadu inscription, which belongs to the sixth regnal year (1018 A D) of Rajendra Chola, states that the king's general," Conquered Indraratha and captured the country of the Jewel of that Lunar race, who met him (in battle) with powerful elephants, horses, and innumerable foot-soldiers "[3] The Tirumalai rock inscription, which is of the thirteenth regnal year (1025 A D) of the same Chola monarch mentions that the king captured Indraratha of the Lunar race, together with his family, in a battle that took place in the famous city of Adinagara [4] We agree with D C Ganguly that Indraratha of the Udayapur Prasasti is probably identical with his name sake referred to in the chola epigraphic records [5] A comperative study of the evidence of the Paramara and the Chola inscriptions reveals that while in the former there is just a

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1 D C Ganguly, '*Early History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*' *in proceedings of the 7th Oriental conference Baroda* pp 533 ff,

यात्ते श्रीभोजभूपे विव्र (वु) धवरवधूनेत्र सीमातिथित्व
श्रीकर्णे कीर्तिशेष गतवति च नृपे क्ष्मात्यये जायमाने ।
भर्तार या व (ध) रित्री त्रिदिवविभुनिभ प्रीतियोगादुपेता
त्राता विश्वासपूर्वं समभवदिह स क्ष्मापतिश्चन्द्रदेव ॥

I A vol. XIV, p 103

2 *E I*, vol I, p. 235, V 19

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol III, part III, p 424

4 *E I*, vol IX, p 233

5 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 94-94, *The struggle for Empire*, p 66

reference to Bhoja's victory over Indraratha, the latter gives us a much more detailed information about Rajendra I's exploits against that prince Indraratha paid a heavy price for his defeat by the Chola emperor. He, together with his family, not only fell as captives into the hands of the Victor, but his realm was also captured by the Cholas This fact leads us to think that sometime between A D. 1012 and 1018 the confederate forces of the Dual Alliance, possibly, fought and won the battle of Adinagara, to which the Cholas had a major contribution, as Bhoja appears to have played the second fiddle The victory had varied results for the allies, as while on one hand it merely satisfied the vanity of Bhoja, on the other it threw the kingdom of Indraratha into the lap of the Cholas It does not appeal to us that Bhoja independently led a successful campaign against Indraratha, the ruler of such a distant country as that of Adinagara or Nagara, which is identified with modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam District, Orissa.[1]

It is clear from both the epigraphic and the literary evidence that Bhoja also antagonised his former confederate the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva of Tripuri and won a decisive victory in a war against him Both the Kalvan[2] inscription and the Udayapur[3] Prasasti refer to Bhoja's victory over the Cedi King. Merutunga[4] also mentions that "The warrior monarch of Cedi" trembled with fear of Bhoja's army It is of interest to point out that these sources do not refer to the Lord of Cedi by name and it is the Parijata-manjari, which for the first time suggests that the vanquished Kalachuri ruler was Gangeya The Parijata-manjari was written by Bala Saraswati Madana, during the reign of the Paramara Anrjuavarma, near about V. S 1270 (=1213) and the

1. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 95, *The struggle for Empire*, p. 66
2. *E. I*, vol XIX, pp 71-72
3. *Ibid*, vol I, p 235, V 19
4. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 44.

first two acts of this drama have been found engraved on a slab of stone from the Kamal Maula Mosque at Dhar [1] The verse referred to therein, runs thus,

"Victorious is Krsna like Krsna, Arjuna, and like Arjuna, the glorious king Bhojadeva, who was able to defeat (his enemies) by leaping arrows, who afforded protection to the whole earth, who assumed the radha (a particular attitude in shooting being that of standing with the feet a span apart, the shooting from which is called radhavedha, in which Arjuna was proficient), which distressed (his enemies) by wounds from roaring, terrible arrows, and who had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gangeya" [2]

Prana Nath Shukla in one of his atricles refers to a verse, which is engraved on a slab of stone in the Bhojasala and which means that as God Srikrsna secured satisfaction by killing Gangeya, a powerful demon and the Pandavas by killing Gangeya i e Bhisma, in the same way Bhoja became happy by defeating Gangeyadeva (Vikramaditya) of Tripuri and the Chalukya ruler of Kalyanapur, the capital of Telingana [3]

Proverbs often throw light on historical facts and such evidence may be taken into consideration, ofcourse with some caution The proverb, "Kanha Raja Bhoja Aura kanha Gangli Telana or Gangu Teli" is known throughout the Northern India and even an illiterate villager uses it In popular sense the proverb is used to show the greatness or the exalted position

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1 *E I*, vol VIII, p 101-122,

2 *"Valgad-vana-jaya-Ksamo Vijayate nihsesagotrana-Krt Krsnah Krsna iv Arjuno' rjuna iva Sri Bhojadevo nrpah/Visphurjad-vasamesu-vedha-vidhuram radham Vidhatte smayas Turnnam purnna-manorathas ciram abhud Gamgeya-bhamgotsave//"*

E I, vol VIII, p. 101, V 3.

3. *"Veena"* (V S 1987) year 3, vol. 8, p 628-629.

of one in comparison to others. But a closer examination of it may lead us to think that it indirectly refers to Bhoja's victories over Gangeyadeva and the Chalukyas of Kalyana. Gangi or Gangu appears to be the perverted form of the name Gangeya and similarly the word Telunga or Teli may be the corrupted form of the word Tilangana or Telingana,

It is difficult to determine the exact date when Bhoja invaded Tripuri and defeated Gangeyadeva. On the part of a statesman like Bhoja it was an undiplomatic move, as it not only alienated the support of a powerful ally but created in Karna, the son and successor of Gangeya, a formidable foe of the Paramaras, who in league with the Chaulukya Bhima[1] invaded Malava from the East and the west. On this occasion, Bhoja gave a proof of his excellent qualities as a general and so long as he was alive, Karna could not secure any advantage of great consequence.[2] K. M. Munshi, on the basis of the evidence of the Mahoba Inscription,[3] infers that Bhoja and Gangeya remained as allies upto atleast A. D. 1025.[4] But Mirashi,[5] who has noted the Mukundpur stone Inscription of Gangeyadeva dated A. D. 1019 (= Kalachuri year 772), and whose reading of the inscription is not free from doubt says," In this inscription Gangeyadeva bears the title of Maharha-maha-mahattaka together with another which is probably Maharaja. Now Mahamahattaka was a title assumed by petty chiefs and ministers. Even with the prefix Maharha it can not be said to be equivalent to Maharajadhiraja. It is plain therefore that in A. D. 1019 Gangeyadeva was subordinate to some other power" As the hostility between the Paramaras of Malava and the Chalukyas of Kalyana seems to have ceased for a number of years after A. D. 1028, the date of

1. *Prabandhacintamani*, p. 74
2. *Ibid*
3. *E. I.* vol. I, pp. 221-222
4. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (New Ed.), p. 191, 215
5. *By Annals*, XXIII, 1942, p. 296

the Kulenur Inscription,[1] it is possible that Bhoja may have utilized this interval to strike a blow against Gangeya, which actually came sometime between A D 1028 and 1042 [2]

On the north-east of the Paramara kingdom of Malava lay the country ruled by the Chandellas, which was called Jejakabhukti, now called Bundelkhand The Chandellas rose to an independent sovereign status during the reign of their king Dhanga and their family became one of the principal ruling dynasties of Northern India Dhanga died shortly after A D 1002 and was succeeded by his son Ganda [3] Vidyadhara, the son and successor of Ganda, who possibly ascended the throne in A D 1025 [4] proved to be one of the most powerful princes of his time As he is referred to as" master of warfare" in the Mahoba Inscription,[5] it appears that he was proficient in warlike activities The same epigraphic record proves that he was a contemporary of the Paramara Bhojadeva Vidyadhara had been instrumental in causing the destruction of the king of Kanyakubja,[6] who was the Pratihara Rajyapala, for his pusillanimous conduct The "Kalachuri-chandra," whom D C Ganguly at one place identifies with the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva[7] and at another with Kokalla II of Tripuri,[8] suffered a reverse[9] at the hands of that Prince It is clear that the power, which could successfully

1 *E I*, vol XV, p 330.
2 *Ibid*, vol II, p 297
3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 86, *The struggle for Empire* p 58
4 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 103, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (New Ed), p 191
5 *E I* vol I, pp 221-222
6 *E I*, vol I, pp 221, *E I* vol II, p 233
7 History of the Paramara Dynasty, p 103,, Vaidya identifies him with Cangeyadeva *D H I*, vol II, p 180
8 *The struggle for Empire*, p 58 E I vol I, p 219, Ray identifies him with Kokalla II (DHNI vol II, p 689-690)
9. *E I*, vol I, pp 221-222

contest the leadership of the North against Bhoja, was that of the Chandellas and as such, from the Paramara point of view, the destruction of the forces of Vidyadhara was almost a necessity Moreover the territorial expansion of the Paramara kingdom of Malava was obstructed on the north-east by the powerful kingdom of the Chandellas, the western baundary of which extended as far as Bhasvat, situated on the banks of the river of Malava But Bhoja's campaign against the Chandellas miserably failed, as it appears from the Mahoba Inscription[1] that Vidyadhara scored a victory over the former

Bhoja's attempt to push forward the boundary of his dominion to the North-east, though suffered a serious set back, he did not give up his designs to move on his northern campaigns The Kachchhapaghatas of Dubkund, who were his northern neighbours ruled over a kingdom, which formerly formed a part of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire of Kanauj The Kachchhapaghata ruler Arjuna, who killed the Pratihara Rajyapala [2] remained a feudatory of the Chandella Vidyadhara It appears that after the death of Arjuna, his son and successor Abhimanyu transferred his political allegiance from the Chandellas to the Paramaras of Malava and assisted Bhoja in his northern expedition The Dubkund inscription of Abhimanyu's grandson Vikramasimha dated V. S 1145 (=1088 A D) states that," The highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhojadeva, has widely celebrated the skill which he (Abhimanyu) showed in the marvellous management

1 "*Tasmad asau ripu-yasah-Kusumaharo' bhud Vidyadharo nrpatir apra (ti)* V 20 *Vihita-Kanyakubja-bhupala-bhangam Samara-gurum Upastapraudha-bhis talpabhajam Saha Kalachuri-Camdrah sisyavad Bhojadevah* (V 21)

E I vol I, pp 221-222)

2. *E I*, vol II, p 237

of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons [1] Ray suggests[2] that," taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyadhara's successors, Bhoja may have extended his influence in the north upto Dubkund, and the statement of the Prasastikara possibly contains a veiled reference to Abhimanyu's subservience to the great Paramara"

It appears that the ultimate object of Bhoja was the conquest of Kanauj, which was known as the metropolis of Hindustan in the East 'It is true that the old glory of that imperial city had departed for ever, but its name still carried with it such a reputation that its occupation remained a cherished goal with one, whoaspired for the paramount sovereignty of the North An obstruction to Bhoja's reslisation of this desire lay in the Kachchhapaghata kingdom of Gwalior Kirttiraja, the reigning monarch of this family successfully reaisted and repelled the attack of the king of Malava, with the result that the latter failed to capture Gwalior The Sasbahu inscription of the Kachchhapaghata Mahipala (A D 1084-1093)[3] states that Kirttiraja inflicted such a crushing defeat on the king of Malava in a fierce battle, that spears fell from the hands of his soldiers through fear, and were subsequently collected by the villagers and heaped around their houses [4] It appears from this evidence that the Paramara army

1 *"(Su) nu-(cchi) nnadhanur-ggunam Vijayino" pyajau Vijityo (rji) tam Jato' smad Abhimanyur anya-nrpatin amanyamanas trnam//*
Yasyatya (dbhuta)-vaha-vahana-maha-Sastra-prayogad isupravinyam pravi-Katthitam prthu-mati-Sri-Bhoja-prthvi-bhuja"
E I, vol II, p 237, 8, lines 17-18

2 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol II, pp 830-831

3 *I A* vol XV, p 33

4 *"Kim brumo sva Katha(dbhu)tamnarapater etena Saurvabdhina, Da (nd) O Malava-Bhumipasya Samare (Sam) Khyam atito jitahyasmi (n bhangam u) pagate disi disi trasatkar agracyutair-ggraminah Sva-grh-ani Kunta-nikaraih Samcchadayam Cakrire//*
I. A, vol XV, p 36, V 10

could not stand before the counter attack of the Kachchhapaghatas and fled from the battle field in confusion In fact, it was a rout But Bhoja was not a man to be disheartened by such a reverse and he finally succeeded in forcing his way through to Kanauj Both the Kalvan[1] inscription and the Udaipur[2] Prasasti refer to Bhoja's victory over "the king of the Gurjaras". D. C Ganguly identifies "the king of the Gurjaras" at one place[3] with Yasahpala of the Kara[4] Inscription and at another with some Rashtrakuta ruler of Kanyakubja[5] As far as Yasahpala is concerned it is not definitely known whether he belonged to the Imperial Pratihara family[6] The other identification appears to be more probable but the difficulty is that it is not definitely known when before A D 1050, Kanauj passed under the possession of this Rashtrakuta dynasty. Moreover, we could not find out a single instance, where a Rashtrakuta ruler has been referred to as "Gurjara" As no ruler other than the one belonging to the Imperial Pratihara dynasty has been referred to as the Gurjara upto the death of Mahipala II (A D 955)[7] and as the feeble Pratihara emperors ruled Kanauj atleast upto A D 1019, the presumption is that the king of the Gurjaras, as mentioned in the Udayapur Prasasti, refers to some ruler of that family The last of the Imperial Pratiharas known to us is Trilochanapala,[8] who ruled in A D 1027 and was the successor of Rajyapala It is no surprise, if Bhoja defeated Trilochanapala[9] It appears

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1 "*Karnnata-Lata-Gurjjara-Cedy-a (a) dhipa*,"
E I, vol XIX, pp 71-72)

2 "*Karnnata-Lata-pati-Gurjjara-rat-Turuskan*"
E I, vol I, p 235)

3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 107

4 *J R A S*, 1927, p 692

5 *The struggle for Empire*, p 66

6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 43

7. *E I*, vol XXII, p 122

8 *I A*, vol XVIII, p. 33

9 C V Vaid, Medieval Hindu India, vol III, p 166.

that Satyaraja, the Paramara ruler of Vagada, who was a feudatory and a contemporary of Bhoja took a prominent part in this battle, on behalf of his overlord The Panhera inscription not only records his victory over the Gurjaras but also mentions that he received fortune from Bhoja [1] As the Rashtrakutas of Kanauj ruled over that city in A D 1050[2] and as Gopala, the fourth ruler of this dynasty is referred to as the king of Gadhipura i e Kanauj, it is clear that Bhoja could not derive any material advantage out of his victory and could not retain Kanauj for long

The Tilakwada copper-plate of Bhoja dated 1047 A D tells us that the general suraditya stabilized the royal fortune of Bhoja by slaughtering Sahavahana and others in battle [3] This description reminds us of the circumstances, as referred to in the Bhitari pillar inscription,[4] in which Skandagupta after a hard struggle against the invasion of the Pusyamitras, retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family The point, which we want to stress is, that some time before A D 1047 Bhoja had to face an invasion of his kingdom by some Sahavahana and the enemy was so powerful that for a time the fortunes of Bhoja were shaken, which were finally stabilized by Suraditya D C Ganguly,[5] whose view is dittoed by K M Munshi,[6] identifies this Sahavahana with the Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Sahilla-Varman of Salavahanadeva or the Mushana dynasty,

1. *E I*, vol XXI, p 47,

2 *The struggle for Empire*, p 50

3 "*Sahaaahana-Samgrame anyesam api bhubhujam||*
hatva yodham (n?)sthiram laksmim Bhojadeve Cakara yah||
Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p 324

4 विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तम्भनायोद्यतेन
क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा ।
C I I., vol III, pp 53, 55

5 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 109-110

6. *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, (New Ed), p 217

which established its supremacy over Chamba in the Sixth century[1] A D This identification now does not hold good, as the reign of Sahillavarman or Salavahanadeva of the Chamba[2] copper plate came to an end in the middle of the tenth century[3] A D and as such he was not a contemporary of Bhoje Salavahana, the father of Soma-Varman, who ruled the Chamba State in the eleventh century A D may be identical with Sahavahana but even this is not free from doubt It is difficult to believe that a petty hill state like that of Chamba, which lay far of from Malava and which was in constant danger from the Turks, as the Punjab had passed under the Islamic domination, was in a position to launch a formidable attack against Bhoja It is not possible to say anything definitely about the position or status of Sahavahana, as the Tilakwada[4] grant does not throw any light on this point The absence of titles or epithets before his name leads us to think that he was probably not a royal personage He appears more to be a general of some powerful adversary of Bhoja The Kalachuri Karna ascended the throne of Tripuri some time between A D 1034 and 1042 [5] As Karna was one of the greatest generals of the age, it is possible that some time before A D 1047, he may have sent a powerful expeditionary force against the Paramara kingdom of Malava, under his general Sahavahana, to avenge the defeat of his father the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva Sahavahana obtained some important initial successes against the Paramaras, when Suraditya rose to the occasion and defeated and slaughtered the invader in a sanguinary battle

During the first half of the eleventh century A D, there were two distinct houses of the Chahamanas, namely, that of

1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 121
2 *I A* vol. XVII, pp 8-9
3. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 121
4 *Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1919, p 324
5 *The struggle for Empire*, p 62.

Sakambhari and of Nadol The former which constituted their main branch, while ruled over modern Sambhar or Ajmer, the latter, their collateral branch held sway over southern Marwar The Chahamanas of Nadol played an important part in the history of this period and the relations between the two dynasties were far from satisfactory The Paramara Bhoja, who came into conflict with both of these houses, while had a better amount of luck in case of one, failed miserably to subdue the other The Chahamana ruler Viryarama of Sakambhari, who was the successor and younger brother of Vakpati II, was a contemporary of Bhoja As he was no match to the imperial might of the Paramaras, he lost his life in a battle with Bhoja According to the Prthvirajavijaya the glory of Viryarama was destroyed by Bhoja of Avanti [1] Puffed up with this success, Bhoja decided to strike a blow against the Chahamana kingdom of Nadol, the reigning monarch of which was Anahilla the paternal uncle and successor of Ahila A formidable expebitionary force was sent under the command of Sadha, the Paramara general, who not only suffered a serious reverse at the hands of the Chahamanas but also lost his life in the battle [2]

The struggle between Bhoja and his western neighbour, the Chaulukya Bhima [1] proved to be a protracted one Both of these rulers were contemporaries, a fact, which is clear from the evidence of the Udayapur[3] Prasasti and the Prabandhacintamani.[4]

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1 *Prthvirajavijaya*, Barga V
वीर्यरामसुतस्तस्य वीर्येणस्यात्स्मरोपम ।
यदि प्रसन्नया दृष्ट्या न दृश्येत पिन किना ॥६५॥
अगम्यो यो नरेन्द्राणा सुधादीधिति सुन्दर ।
जघ्ने यशश्च यो यश्च भोजेनावन्तिभूभूजा ॥६७॥

2 *E I*, vol IX, p 75
ऽनुजघान मालवपतेर्भोजस्य साढाह्वय
दडाधीशमपारसैन्यविभव .. .. . ॥१७॥

3 *E I*, vol I, p 235, V 19

4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 36

The relations between the two monarchs were cordial and peaceful[1] in the earliest part of Bhima's reign, as Merutunga[2] informs us that a league of friendship (Yamalapatresu) subsisted between them Moreover, Hemachandra does not make the slightest reference to Bhoja's fight with Bhima and this indirectly supports Merutunga But this cordiality did not last for long and according to Merutunga,[3] it was Bhoja's policy of self-aggrandizement, which led to a conflict between Malava and Gujarat It was the policy with ruling heads of the time to keep fighting with their neighbours and the motive of these wars was more a display of their military strength rather than of territorial gains It is clear from the Prabandhacintamani[4] that even when there were normal diplomatic relations between the two States, the atmosphere in the Court at Dhara was definitely hostile to Bhima Bhoja, who desired to break the peace,[5] was in search of an opportunity and he sent a gatha to the following effect to Bhima through a diplomatic agent

"The lion who cleaves with ease the heads of elephants, whose might is noised abroad,

Deigns not to fight with the deer,yet none can truly say, he keeps with him in peace"

Bhima, inspite of this provocation, desired to avoid a breach of peaceful relations with Bhoja [6] A retort, which was composed by Govindacarya and which runs thus, was sent to Bhoja by the hand of that minister

"Bhima by fate created to destroy the sons of Andhaka

1. *Ibid*, p 41.
2. *Ibid*
3 *Ibid*
4 *Ibid*, p 43-44, 41
5 *Ibid*, p 41
6 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 41

Can he who fought with hundred foes now shrink from thee who are but one ?"

The exchange of gathas did not serve the cause of peace but on the contrary, stiffened the cold war between the two kingdoms Bhoja, who was determined to wage a war of aggression against the Anhilwar government, prepared an invasion of that country at a time, when it was on the verge of famine due to a failure of rain [1] It was only the political sagacity of Damara, the diplomatic agent of Bhima at Dhara, which saved his country from that Catastrophe at that time [2]

Merutunga further informs us that Bhima visited the royal court at Dhara in the disguise of a Brahmana and the meeting was arranged by Damara, on the insistence of his royal master [3] In view of the unfriendy relations, that existed between the two rulers, it is difficult to believe that Bhima visited the Paramara capital at a great personal risk [4] However, if for a moment we rely upon this piece of evidence, it appears that Bhima's motive, therein, was to have a personal knowledge of Bhoja and of his court As in medieval times, the personality of the ruler played an important part, Bhima, in formulating his plans for an invasion of Malava, did not want to be beaten on that score [5]

Bhoja, who was always anxious to time properly his invasion of Gujarat took advantage of Bhima's absence, when the latter was busy in the conquest of Sindh, and despatched his general Kulachandra to ravage and plunder Anahillalpataka [6] As

1 *Ibid*, p 43-44
2 *Ibid* p 45
3 *Prabandhacintamani*, 47.
4. *Ibid*, p 48
5 Forbes seems to accept as historical Bhima's visit to Bhoja's Court in disguise
Prabandhacintamani, preface XI
6. *Ibid* p 46

narrated by Hemachandra, Bhima proceeded to the Punjab, crossed the Sindhu by means of a stone bridge built by him, and defeated Hammuka, ruler of Sindh [1] The august Chaulukyan capital was sacked by Kulachandra, who" caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace" and extorted a record of victory [2] The Udayapur Prasasti clearly refers to Bhoja's victory over Bhima [3]

An unwarranted and an unprovoked Paramara attack against Bhima not only brought about a breach of diplomatic relations between Malava and Gujarat but also inaugurated a period of hostility between the two kingdoms, which finally proved to be disastrous for the fortunes of Bhoja It was one of the most unprudent acts of Bhoja and it could easily be ranked with one, which alienated his ally Gangeyadeva He created two powerful enemies both on the western and the eastern frontiers of his kingdom and it was a blunder from military point of view It is evident from the fact that at a time when Karna and Bhima, the two allies made an organised attack on Malava, Bhoja was faced with an uphill task to check the advance of the enemy

It may be pointed out that after the departure of Mahmud of Ghazni, who sacked Somanatha in A D 1025, Bhima returned to his capital Anahillapataka and devoted himself to the task of building up his power His greedy eyes fell upon the small Paramara principality of Abu and the Chaulukyan attack against it forced its ruler Dhandhuka to flee from there and to seek shelter with Bhoja of Dhara,[4] Bhima entrusted the administration of

1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 116, *The struggle for Empire*, p 75.

2 *Prabandhacintamani* p 46

3 *E I* vol I, p 235, V 19

4 "*Camdravatipurisah Samajani Viragrani (r) Dha (m) dhuh|| Sri-Bhimadevasya nrasa (sya) sevam amanya (m) anah-Kila Dhamdhurajah|naresa-rosac ca tato manasvi (svi) Dharadhipam Bhojanrpam prapede||6||*

Mount AbuVimala temple Inscriptions, *E I*, vol. IX, pp 155-156

Mount Abu to his governor Vimala of the Pragvata family[1] As Vimala, during his viceroyalty, built there the famous temple of Adinatha in V S 1088(=1031 A D)[2], it is clear that Bhima dethroned Dhandhuka sometime before this date Subsequently, at the request of Vimala, Bhima restored Dhandhuka to power,[3] naturally as his protege

After his return to Gujarat from Sind, Bhima planned retaliatory measures against the kingdom of Malava and the initial step, which he took in that direction was to despatch batches of Gujarati soldiers to that country from time to time for subversive activities The raiders achieved some success in their objective, as it is clear from Merutunga's narrat ve that they were active in the vicinity of the Paramara capital, It reflects the inactivity and inefficiency of the Paramara civil and military adminstration and leads us to think that the old glory that was Bhoja had departed According to the Prabandhacintamani,[4] one day, Bhoja, who was in the habit of go ing continually to pay his devotions to his family goddess, in a suburb of the city of Dhara, was surrounded by the Gujarati soldiers Seeing them, he immediately galloped off on his horse back to the city But as he was entering the main gate of the capital two Gujarati Cavalry-men named Aluya and Akoluya intercepted him by throwing their bows over his neck, but nothing untoward happened and he escaped unhurt

As Bhima probably realised that he would not be able to overcome Bhoja single-handed, he took recourse to diplomacy

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1. *"Tava (ta) s ca Bhimena naradhipena Sa pratapa-bhurmi (mi)-r Vimalomaha matih/Kva (kr) t O' (r) bude damdapatih Satam priyah priyamvado namd atu Jaina-Sasane//8//*
   Mount Abu Vimala temple Inscription, *E I* vol IX, p 156
2. *Ibid*
3 Jinaprabha Suri's *Tirtha Kalpa* (Arbuda Kalpa)
   राजानक श्री धाधुके क्रुद्ध श्री गुर्जरेश्वर ।
   प्रसाद्य भक्त्या त चित्रकूटादानीय तद्गिरा ॥२६॥
4 *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 70-71

He looked all round for an ally, which he found in the Kalachuri Karna The common bond that bound tha two allies together was their feelings of animosity against Bhoja. Moreover, they had the same objective in view and that was the destruction of the power of the Malava King Bhoja had incurred the hostility of Karna by successfully waging war against his father, the Kalachuuri Gangeyadeva

Merutunga gives a graphic description of the events, which led to a war, between Karna and Bhoja According to him, one day Karna sent a word to Bhoja, through an ambassador, Challanging him to a contest either "in a battle" or "in a single combat" or "as a disputant in the four sciences" or "in the faculty of munificence". On receiving the message Bhoja lost his nerves and reflecting that Karna was apt to be victorious in every way entreated him to agree to this arrangement It was decided that Bhoja in Avanti and Karna in Kasi (Benares) shall begin the construction of two temples, each fifty cubits in height, on the same day and at the same moment It was further agreed that on whichever king's temple the finial and the flag shall first be set up, he shall be considered to have achieved a victory over the other and it was the duty of the one, who suffers a defeat to abandon his royal Umbrella and Chownes and was to present himself before the victor on an elephant. Karna succeeded in setting up the finial and the flag on his own temple earlier to that of Bhoja and according to the terms of the agreement summoned him by an ambassador but Bhoja remained silent It was this breach of contract, which led Karna, along with other 136 Kings, to invade Malava At the same time he induced Bhima, who is evidently the Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat, to make a common cause with him and to attack Malava in the rear, on the promise that he would handover to him the half of the kingdom of Bhoja At a time, when the allied monarchs attacked Bhoja, the latter suddenly suffered from a disease, which proved to be fatal [1]

1. *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 73-74.

This evidence of the Prabandhacintamani is open to grave doubts, though it contains some historical truth It is difficult to believe that a ruler like Bhoja, who was himself an accomplished warrior and had a brilliant military record to his credit, hesitated and refused to accept a challange for a war against Karna It is true that by that time Bhoja was sufficiently advanced in age, but as his military resources were still intact, there appears no reasonable ground to agree with Merutunga Further, Bhoja's offer to Karna to compete in temple-building instead of deciding the issue on the battle field, also appears nothing but an imagination of the writer himself The eleventh century in India was an age of chivalry, which produced great military leaders Prominent rulers of the time, who understood only the language of war, aggrandized themselves at the cost of others and aspired for the title of the Cakravartin, the supreme Lord It is difficult to expect of Karna, who was the hero of several battles and was at the height of his power to accept such a peaceful solution of his dispute with Bhoja Bhoja had already distinguished himself in temple building and it is inconceivable that he revived back fresh enthusiasm in that sphere at the fag end of his reign All that appears to be the truth in this story is that Bhima and Karna in alliance simultaneously attacked Malava and while Bhoja was engaged in conducting the war against them both in the east and in the west, he died of a malady

It is significant to point out that so long as Bhoja lived, he kept the enemy at bay and it was only after his demise that Karna and Bhima sacked Dhara, the Paramara capital [1] Bhoja's successor Jayasimha,[2] who was probably his son, was no match to the mighty forces of the allies and surrendered to them There

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1 *"King Bhoja having gone to heaven, the very powerful Karna, while engaged*
In sacking the town of Dhara, by solicitation made Bhima his ally",
Prabandhacintamani, p. 75

2 परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यात,
परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीजयसिं(ङ्घ) देव कुशली ....
E I, vol III, p 48-50

is some epigraphic and literary evidence other than that of the Prabandhacintamani, which in its main outlines confirms Bhima's triumphant entry into Dhara The Vadnagar Prasasti of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumarapala eulogizes Bhima thus.

"Who, though terrible (Bhima) to his foes, ever granted enjoyments to his friends (and) as ruler, carried this load of the earth What wonder was there that his horses supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called dhara) quickly gained Dhara, the capital of the Emperor of Malava" [1] The Kirti-Kaumudi of Somesvara refers to Bhima's victory over Bhoja, king of Dhara and further mentions that the former having considered the virtues of the latter, released him from his captivity and spared his life [2] The Sukrta-Samkirtana also refers to Bhoja's defeat at the hands of Bhima [3] Similarly, Jayasimhadeva in his Kumarapala-carita [4] records that before the greatness of Bhima the arm of Bhoja faded away like the lotus This literary evidence is not to be accepted in verbatim, as it is not corroborated in details by the epigraphic or by any other reliable evidence

It is clear from the narrative of Merutunga[5] that Karna "took all the wealth of Bhoja" and annexed the whole of the kingdom of Malava to his own territories without giving any share to Bhima as stipulated in the agreement The occupation of Malava by the enemy, on the death of Bhoja, is clear from the evidence of the Vikramankadeva-carita,[6] which mentions that the Paramara Jayasimha got back his throne with the

1 *"Bhimo' pi dvisatam Sada pranayinam bhogyatvam-asedivan Ksoni-bharam idam babhara nrpati (h) Sri-Bhimadevo nrpah| Dhara-pamcaka-Sadhanaika-caturais tad Vajibhih Sadhita Ksipram Malava-Cakravartti-nagari Dhareti Ko vismayah||* *E I*, vol I, p 297, V 9

2 *Sarga* II, VV 16-18

3 *Ibid*, VV 17-20

4, V 34

5 *Prabandhacintamani*, p. 74-75.

6 स मालवेन्दु शरणप्रविष्टमकण्टके स्थापयतिस्म राज्ये ।
Sarga 3, V. 67

to procure it from King Karna, on the penalty of Death Damara, who was anxious to carry out the orders of his sovereign, entered the royal pavilion with thirty- two foot soldiers and imprisoned Karna, when he was asleep He, then forced the Kalachuri King to surrender to him a golden shrine, and the images of Siva and Ganesa together with the Salagrama stone [1] As the above statement of Merutunga is partly corroborated by Hemachandra, it appears almost certain that there had been a quarrel between the two monarchs on the division of the spoils of their victory in Malava The Dvyasraya[2] mentions that Bhima invaded Dahala with a large army and compelled Karna to surrender to him the golden mandapika, which he had wrested from Bhoja together with elephants and horses

Bhoja was succeeded by the Paramara Jayasimha and as the earliest grant of his reign is dated V S 1112(=1055 A D),[3] it is evident that Bhoja died some time before that date we stated earlier that Bhoja ascended the throne of Malava probably in A D. 1008 On the basis of the available evidence, it can definitely be proved that Bhoja ruled atleast till A D 1047 [4] Out of the four grants[5] of Bhoja, the earliest is dated V S 1076 =1020 A D) Al-Beruni,[6] who wrote his book 'India' in V S 1087(=1030 A D) mentions therein that in his days Bhoja ruled over 'Dhara, the

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1 *"And Karna was taken prisoner by Bhima's servant Damara, and from him were extracted A golden shrine, and the lord Siva associated with Ganesa"*

2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 75

सफुल्लकीर्ति भोजस्य स्वर्णमण्डपिकामिमाम् ।
श्रीवामोत्फुल्लपद्माभा हरापरिकुशश्रियम् ॥

Dvyasraya, Sarga IX, V 57

3. *E. I*, vol III, p 48-50

4 *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona*, 1919, p 319

5 *E I* vol XI, p 182-183, *E I*, vol XVIII, p, 320, *I. A* vol VI, p 49-54, *'Hindustani'* Oct 1931, p 494-515

6 *Alberuni's India by* Sachau, vol I, p 191

capital of Malwa' The Sarasvati image inscription,[1] which is engraved on the pedestal of an image of Sarasvati, now in the British Museum, states that in Samvat 1091=A D 1033, Bhoja caused this image of Vagdevi to be erected by a sculptor The Rajamrganka Karana, a work on astrology, the authorship of which is attributed to Bhojadeva, refers to the time of its composition by the expression "sake Vedartunande",[2] which deserves some elucidation The word ' Sake" may be taken to mean as the Saka Samvat The Vedas ar e four, the Ritus (seasons) are six and the word "Nande" means Nine So the figure comes to 469 But according to the grammatical principle "Ankam nama Vama to gatih," which means that figures move to the left, the figure of 469 will become 964, which is equivalent to V S 1099 or A D 1042 The Tilakwada copper plate,[3] which records a grant of land by the illustrious Jasoraja, who was apparently a governor of Bhoja, in the Samgamakheta-mandala, is dated V S 1103 Marga (-Sirsa) =A D 1047 It is, therefore, clear that Bhoja died sometime between A, D 1047 and 1055 Some scholars[4] think that Bhoja died in A D 1055, a view, which is open to criticism on the following grounds Firstly, on the death of Bhoja, the kingdom of Malava was occupied by the confederate forces of the Kalachuri Karna and the Chaulukya Bhima and the Paramara Jayasimha, whose earliest known date is A D 1055[5] must have taken some time to get that aggression vacated with the help of the Chalukyas of Kalyana Secondly, as in his grant dated A D 1055,[6] Jayasimha takes full imperialistic titles, it appears that it was issued after the enemy was forced to leave Malava. Thirdly,

1 *Rupam* (Jan 1924), pp 1-2
2. *E I*, vol I, p 233, Note 51
3 *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1919, p 319
4 D C Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 81, *The struggle for Empire*, p 67, P T Srinivasa Ayyangar, *Bhoja Raja*, p 82.
5. *E I*, vol III, p 48-50
6. *Ibid*

benevolent activities like that of making grants to charitable or religious purposes generally find favour with a monarch at a time when there is peace in his realm and not in a state of emergency And lastly, it is doubtful, if Somesvara I was in a position to assist Jayasimha with a large army after the battle of Koppam (A D 1054) [1] Taking all these facts into consideration Bhoja's death may reasonably be placed in A D 1053 Thus it appears that Bhoja ruled for about 45 years, though according to the Bhavisya Purana[2] and the Tarikh-i-Firishta[3] he had a reign of fifty years

According to the Udayapur Prasasti[4] Bhoja ruled over an extensive empire, which extended from the Himalayas in the north to the Malyachal in the South and from the Udyachal in the East to the Astachal in the west But as this account is conventional, it does not help us in any way to have a correct estimate of the limits of his dominions Another verse[5] of the same Prasasti, which mentions that Bhoja constructed temples of Sundira, Ramesvara, Somanatha and Kedaresvara, also does not provide us with such evidence, which may be relied upon in this connection It is true that he was a great builder and it is possible that he may have built those temples

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1 *The struggle for Empire* p 169

2 शूद्रेषु प्राकृती भाषा स्थापिता तेन धीमता ।
पचाशदव्दकाल तु राज्य कृत्वा दिव गत ॥२६॥
Bhavisya Purana, Pratisarga Parva, vol III chapter 3, p 283

3 *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, vol 1, p 14

4 आकैलासान्मलयागिरितोऽस्तोदयाद्रिद्वयाद्वा
भुक्ता पृथ्वी पृथुनरपतेस्तुल्यरूपेण येन ।
उन्मूल्योर्वीभरगुरुगणा लीलया चापयष्टया
क्षिप्तादिक्षु क्षितिरपिपरा प्रीतिमापादिता च ॥१७॥
E I vol I, p 235

5 केदार रामेस्व (श्व) र सोमनाथ (सु) डीरकालानलरुद्रसत्कै ।
सुराश्र (यै) र्व्याप्य च य समन्ताद्यथार्थसज्ञा जगती चकार ॥
E I, vol I, p 236

But as these great shrines stand almost on the four sides of our country, it will be unreasonable to presume that all the territory lying between them was with in the limits of his kingdom. History knows of several rulers, even that of foreign countries who constructed temples or monastries at different places in India but that evidence could not be taken to infer that they held sway over those places As today, even in Ancient India works of public utility or of religious merit could be prosecuted by a ruler in territories of another, ofcourse with the permission of the latter D C Ganguly[1] thinks that there is nothing in the Udayapur prasasti from which it may be inferred that Bhoja participated in the buil ing of the temples of Somanatha and of Ramesvara in Kathiawar and in Southern India respectively There is evidence to show that besides these famous venerated sancturies of Hindu worship, there were temples in other parts of the country which were dedicated to the same gods The temples of Ramesvara[2] and of Somanatha,[3] at Belur, in the former Bombay presidency and at Deotalao in the Rewa division of the Madhya Pradesh respectively may be cited as examples It is possible, as believed by D C Ganguly[4] that all the temples referred to in the Udayapur Prasasti were built in Malava, though due to ravages of time traces of none of them are to be found

However, we are in possession of some epigraphic and literary evidence on the basis of which the extent of Bhoja's kingdom may roughly be determined Find spots of several grants and inscriptions of his reign, together with the testimony of Alberuni, may help us in this direction During the second decade of his reign, with the annexation of lata and Northern Konkana, the boundaries of his kingdom extended on the North

1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 258,

2 *Prog Report of the Archaeological Survey. Western Circle*, (1921), p. 16

3 *Ibid* 21

4 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 258

upto Chitor,[1] Banswara and Dungarpur,[2] on the south to Khandesh,[3] Northern Konkana and the upper courses of the Godavari, on the east to Bhilsa (Vidisa)[4] and on the west to the modern Kaira district,[5] Bhoja is referred to as "Vidarbharaja" i e The Lord of Vidarbha in the Champu Ramayana[6] Does this epithct indicate that Vidarbha constituted a part of Bhoja's kingdom ?

No political account of tha reign of Bhoja would be complete without a reference to the city of Dhara, which enjoyed the unique honour of being the capital of the Paramara kingdom of Malava It figured prominently on the political and the geographical map of Malava as early as the Seventh century A D, as an inscription of the Maukhari Isvaravarman of Kanauj mentions that he repelled an attack of the king of Dhara[7] It appears that soon after his accession in A D 1008, Bhoja transferred his capital from Ujjain to that city, a fact, which may be inferred from the evidence of the Prabandhacintamani,[8] which mentions that king Vallabharaja invested the fortifications of Dhara The Chaulukya ruler may be presumed to have followed the common military strategy of striking at the heart of the Paramara kingdom, in order to paralyse the entire body-politic A master-plan for the capital was drawn and Bhoja rebuilt the city on a new model[9] with a change in seat of government, the royal residence also changed and the Ujjain Plate, dated

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1 Mount Abu Vimala temple Inscriptions, *E I* vol IX, pp 155-156

2 *E I* vol XI, p 182

3 *Ibid* vol XIX, p. 69

4 Sachau *Alberuni's India*, vol I, p 202

5 *E I*, vol XVIII, p 322,

6 'इति श्री विदर्भराजविरचिते चम्पूरामायणे सुन्दर काण्ड समाप्त '

7 *Fleet's Gupta Inscription*, p 230

8 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 29

9 *Ibid*, p 46

1021 A D[1] was issued by Bhoja from Dhara Alberuni refers to Dhara as the capital of Malava in A D 1030[2] It is clear that the change of the capital was not dictated by the mere caprice of a despot Obviously, considerations of safety alone urged Bhoja to take such a step The Samarangana-Sutradhara refers to the six kinds of forts namely Jaladurga, Pankadurga, Vanadurga, Airinadurga, Parvatiyaduiga and Guhadurga[3] Out of these the Parvatiya durga was considered the best,[4] and Dhara, being surrounded by the hills, satisfied all the requirements of it

The Parijatamanjari gives us a rough idea about the general outlay of the city It was a metropolitan town of beautiful palaces and pleasure gardens, which were set in natural surroundings on the hills around it[5] It was protected by a wall and a ditch, the remanents of which may still be seen The city had its fortifications,[6] along with several gates with lofty towers, a fact, which is referred to both by Merutunga[7] and by Bilhana[8] cunningham[9] thinks that the who'e circuit of the place was not less than three and a half miles The Parijatamanjari corroborates this evidence, when it mentions that the city had eighty four crossroads[10] This leads us to suppose that it had a net work of

1. *I A* vol VI, p 53
2 '*India*' (Sachau) vol I, p 202
3. D N Shukla, *Bhartiya Vastu Shastra*, p 124.
4. 'सर्वेषामेव दुर्गाना पार्वतीय प्रशस्यते'

Samarangana-Sutradhara, 45,40
5 *E I*, vol VIII, pp 101 ff
6 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 29.
7 *Ibid* pp 70-71
8 यस्य द्वारो डुमरशिखिरक्रोडपारावताना
नादव्याजादिति सकरुण व्याजहारेव धारा ।।

Vikramankadeva-carita, Sarga 18, V, 96
9 *An Geo*, p 562
10 चतुरशीतिचतुष्पथ

E I, vol VIII, p 101
Merutunga also mentions 'Eighty four cross roads' in the city of Avanti Prabandhacintamani, p 8

roads to facilitate movements and the kings highway[1] passed through it The 'palace area' in the city was clearly demarcated [2]

It may be pointed out that in Ancient India almost every town or city was fortified and even University towns and Temple cities were no exceptions to this rule In fact, all those cities or towns, which owed their foundations and their growth to royal patronage followed almost the same scheme of defence, that was prescribed for forts by authoritative works like the" "Manasara"[3] and the "Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara"[4] on the Hindu science of Architecture The Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara, the authorship of which is ascribed to Bhoja, defines a capital as that city, where the king resides [5] The second or the summer capital is referred to as "Pattan" [6] The scheme of town-fortification consisted of five principal parts namely, Moats and ramparts, parapets, towers and turrets, different types of town gateways and lastly the king's highways together with other important roads [7] An ideal town was to have thirty four principal roads, which were laid down from East to West and from North to South The two king's highways also ran in the same directions, crossing at right angles at the centre of the city, and each

1. Bhojaprabandha (Louis) p. 53
2 *Ibid*, p 48
3 P K Acharya, *Indian Architecture according to Manasara Shilpa Shastra* p 39
4 'नगरेषु मलग्रेपु ग्रामेषु निखिलेष्वपि ।
खेटकेपु च सर्वेषु सामान्योऽय विधि स्मृत ' ॥ १०, १४७
तथा
'यथा पुरे पुग प्रोक्त स्थान दुर्गेऽपि तत् तथा,' ४५, ४५
5 यत्रास्ते नगरे राजा राजधानी तु ता विदु (१८, नगरादिसज्ञाध्यायोऽष्टादश १–७, १२३)
6 उपस्थान भवेद् राज्ञा यत्रतत् पत्तन विदु, १८, १–७, १२६
7 पुरस्य त्रिविधस्यापि प्रमाणमथकथ्यते ।
प्राकारपरिखाट्टालद्वाररथ्याध्वमि सह ॥
Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara 10, 1, 345

of the two was to be 36 feet wide in a town of the first grade [1] Roads which connected a city with the outside janapada, and those, which maintained communications with in, are referred to as "Maharathyas" and "Yanamargas" respectively While, the former should be atleast four, the number of the latter would be Eight The width of Maharathyas varied from 18 feet to 12 feet according to the gradation of thc town, wh le a uniform width of 6 feet was prescribed for all Yanamargas The Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara Provides for the construction of sixteen 'Janghapathas" on both sides of eight Yanamargas of a city and which may be understood as modern foot-paths, the width of which ranged gradually from 4 1/2 feet to 3 feet [2] As the two "Ghantamargas" ran close to the parapets, they extended on all the four sides of the Town In order to separate one sector from the other and to facilitate the enjoyment of Sun-light and fresh air by city dwellers, the construction of Streets, lanes and Bye-lanes constituted an essential part of Town-planning A big street was to be of half the width of a king's highway, while lanes and byelanes were required to be only the one-fourth(i e 9 feet) in width Every city was to have an efficient system of public drainage and drains were always to be covered either with stone pieces or wooden planks [3] The profession and caste of a particular person determined his place of residence in a city, which the Samarangana refers to by the expression "Jativarnadhivasa" Merutunga refers to "the Vegetable market" [4] in Dhara and according to the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara,Ghee and fruitsellers resided exclusively in the North East (Aisanya) of the city [5] The four principal castes of the Hindu society namely, Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras dwelt respectively in the Northern, the eastern, the southern and the western portions of a city [6]

1 D N Shukla, *Bhartiya Vastu Shastra*, pp 159-160.
2. *Ibid* p 160
3. *Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara* 10 52
4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 69, p 45.
5 D N Shukla, *Bhartiya Vastu Shastra*, pp 168-169.
6. *Ibid*

Security officers, both of the police and the military, physicians and those Vaisyas who sold articles of daily use were allowed to reside in all the directions of a city [1] The central part of the capital constituted the palace area and was reserved for royal residence [2]

Since among Hindus flowers constitute an essential element of god-worship, Temples and pleasure gardens or flower gardens with in a city had importance for each other and this point is vell emphasised by the Samarangana Sutra-Dhara [3] Another factor, which gave an incentive both to the State and the people for laying down gardens, was a provision in the scheme of fortification of a city, that three moats or trenches all around it must be dug They were filled with water, which offered immense facilities for laying down gardens and orchards and also for planting flower-trees on their banks [4] Assembly halls, parks, pleasure gardens, flower gardens, fountains and artificial lakes (Kasara) were the chief characteristics of a good town and Bhoja's works the Samarangana Sutra-Dhara [5] and the Yukti-Kalpataru [6] throw significant light on this point

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1 निघेया वणिजो वैद्या मुख्याश्च पि चतुर्दिशम्
चतुर्दिश विशेषेण स्थापयीत वलानि च ॥
Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara, 10, 101 ॥

2 *Ibid*, 15 (Rajanivesa)

3 निवेशनानि कुर्वीत त्रिदशाना यथाक्रमम् ।
नगराभिमख चित्रवनभाञ्जि शुभानि च ॥ १०–११०

4 एव सशोघ्य परिखात्रितय परितोऽश्मभि ।
विधेयमिष्टकाभिवा सन्यग्वद्धतल स्थिरम् ॥३३९॥
सिरावारिभिरापूर्ण पूर्ण वागामिनाम्भसा ।
विचित्राब्जमनोहारि ससग्राहाम्वुनिर्गमम् ॥३४०॥
सर्वपार्श्वेष्वथैतस्य गन्धान्धमधपागनान् ।
सुमनोविटपारामान् कुर्याद् वासान् समुत्सुकान् ॥३४१॥
Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara, 10, 21-23.

5 D N Shukls, *Bhartiya Vastu Shastra*, p 102.

6 'प्रपा-मण्डप-कासार-काननाद्यपशोभिते'

Dhara, at this time, was the centre of political, intellectual and cultural activities It was known for its skilful musicians and learned scholars[1] A study of the Prabandhas, namely the Prabandhacintamani and the Bhojaprabandha, clearly shows that poets and scholars from different parts of the country visited the capital with a desire to receive gifts from Bhoja A high intellectual atmosphere pervaded the city, a fact, which is clear from an order of the king to his Prime Minister that ',Let him who is a fool be outside my city, even (though) a Brahman, let him (who is) wise remain with in my city, even (though) a potter"[2] Poets, with their families migrated permanently to Dhara to subsist upon Bhoja's bounty[3] The modern Kamal Maula mosque at Dhara (Madhya Pradesh), which is still popularly known as "Bhojasala" or "Bhoja Raja Ki Nisal", or Raja Bhoja's college is believed by Bhandarkar[4] as the site of a spacious and splendid temple of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning and Arts, referred to in the Parijatamanjari[5] One of the two long inscriptions, which have been discovered from the building of the mosque, consists of two odes to the tortoise incarnation of Vishnu, the composition of them is ascribed to Bhoja The first says "Even to the tortoise rest has been granted by king Bhoja alone By him this Kurmma Sataka has been composed after he had taken away all hope from the enemies"[6] The second has it, "By whom the chief of mountains, (nay) all the mountains here (on earth) have been reduced in weight, by this king Bhoja has this Sataka been composed".[7] The discovery of the two

1 *E I*, vol VIII, pp. 101 ff

2 *Bhojaprabandha* (Louis H Gray), p 27

3. *Ibid*, p. 31

4 *Pro. Rep of Archaeol sur. Western circle.* 1904, p 18
A S R 1903-4, p 44

5 जगज्जडताधक्कारशातनशरच्चन्द्रिकाया. सा (शा) रदादेव्या सद्मनि सकल-
दिगन्तरोपागतानेकत्रैविद्यसहृदयकलाकोविदरसिकसुकविसकुले ।
E I, vol VIII, p 101.

6 *A. S R*,, 1902-3, p. 18.

7 *E I* vol VIII p 242

odes of Bhoja and of the first two acts of the Parijata-manjari, which have been found inscribed on slabs of stone, from the same mosque[1] may go to show the truth of Bhandarkar's view It seems that the mosque, which is quite Muhammadan in style,[2] was built not only on the very site of the temple but also with the materials of it The image of Sarasvati, the presiding deity of the Sardasadan, was installed in the temple by Bhoja himself in V S 1091 (=1033 A D) and which, at present is in the British Museum, London [3] Sardasadan, the University at Dhara was of all-India importance and was" a meeting place of great poets, of scholars prominent in the three Vedas, of Critics and accomplished men possessing great appreciation and taste coming from all quarters "[4] At each of the Eighty four cross roads of the capital, there was a temple (Surasadana) Keeping in view that Sardasadan was the most prominent of all of them,[5] it appears, that they were not only public places for religious worship, but were also forums for spiritual and literary discussions This must have contributed much to raise up the intellectual standard of the citizens

Bhoja's death was a national loss and was bemoaned by friends and foes alike He championed the cause of Hinduism against Islam and contributed his mite to the defence of his mother country against the onslaught of the Turks He was a great soldier but his fame, which had come down to posterity, was primarily due to his kind patronage to scholars and poets and was also, of his benevolence, which had hardly any parallel He was an erudite scholar and a "Kaviraja" and is credited with the authorship of more than twenty books on different subjects

1 *E I*, vol VIII, pp 101-122,
2 *J Bo Br* vol XXI, pp 341, 345
3 "*Rupam*", No, 17, Jan 1924, p 1
4 *E I* vol VIII, p 101
5 चतुरशीतिचतुष्पथसुरसदनप्रधाने ......शारदादेव्या सद्मनि.........

E I, vol VIII, p. 101,

The Udayapur Prasasti[1] pays glowing tributes to his excellent qualities of head and heart He honoured the poet Bhaskarabhatta, son of Trivikram with the title of "Vidyapati"[2] Kalhana[3] in his Rajatarangini and Mammata[4] in his "Kavyaprakasa" praise Bhoja for his liberality and benevolence Merutunga[5] and Ballala[6] narrate numerous anecdotes of Bhoja in their Prabandhas, in this connection Bhoja has figured in history as an ideal Hindu ruler and, Bilhana[7] speaks of him as "the Lord of the earth", who was, "not, indeed, comparable to vulgar kings"

A number of elegies have bemoaned the death of Bhoja What a great loss, his death was to Dhara is clear from the Udayapur Prasasti, which refers to the event in these terms :—

"When that devotee of Bharga whose brilliance resembled that of the Sun, had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth,

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1 साधित विहित दत्त ज्ञान तद्यन्न केनचित् ।
किमन्यत्कविराजस्य श्रीभोजस्य प्रशस्यते ।।१८।।
E I vol I, p 235 ll

2 शाडिल्यवशे कविचक्रवर्ती त्रिविक्रमोभूत्तनयोस्य जात ।
यो भोजराजेन कृताभिधानो विद्यापतिर्भास्करभट्टनामा ।।१७।।
E I, vol I p 343. ll

3 स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।
सूरी तस्मिन्क्षणे तुल्य द्वावास्ता कविबान्धवौ ।।२५६।।
Taranga 7 ll

4 मुक्ता केलिविसूत्रहारगलिता सम्मार्जनीभिर्हृता ।
प्रात प्राङ्गणसीम्निमन्थरचलद्बालाङ्घ्रिलाक्षारुणा ।।
दूराद्दाडिमबीजशङ्कितधिय कर्षन्ति केलीशुका ।
यद्विद्वद्भवनेषु, भोजनृपतेस्तत्त्यागलीलायितम् ।। X,V 505

5 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 67

6 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 24

7 भोजक्ष्माभृत्स खलु न खलैस्तस्य साम्य नरेन्द्रै ।
Vikramankadevacarita, XVIII, V 96 ll

like Dhara, was filled with densedarkness, his foes and his hereditary warriors became infirm in body" [1]

Bilhana, though patronised by a rival court of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, spoke of him in laudatory terms --

"Bhoja was the lord of the earth, and not indeed, compara-ble to vulgar kings "woe is me !" Dhara cried to him (i e Bilhana) through the voice of the pigeons nesting on the lofty towers of her gates, "Why dids't thou not come into his (Bhoja's) presence?" [2]

An inscription of Devapala, dated A D 1228, which compares Bhoja with Sri Krishna, refers to him thus --

"There was a king, great like Kamsa's conqueror, an ornament of the Paramara family, the glorious Bhojadeva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile king s " [3]

Merutunga eulogizes him in these touching terms --

"King, when the cloud of your hand had begun its auspicious ascent in the ten quarters of the heavens,

And was raining the nectar-flood of gold, with the splendour of the trembling golden bracelet flickering like lightning,

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1 तत्रादित्यप्रतापे गतवति सदन स्वर्गिणा भर्गभक्ते व्याप्ता धारेव धात्री रिपुति-
भिरभरैम्मलिलोकस्तदाभूत् ।
विश्रस्तागोनिहत्योद्भटरिपुति (भिरभ) र खड्ग दडासूजालैरन्यो भाखानिवो-
धन्धुतिमुदितजनात्भोदयादित्यदेव ॥२१॥

E I, vol I, p 238

2 *Vikramankadevacarita*, XVIII, V 96

3 *E I*, vol IX, pp. 113-4

The river of fame became swollen, all virtues were refreshed like the earth,

The lake of petitioners was filled, and the forestfire of the poverty of the learned was extinguished

Like the wishing tree, having frightened away by his munificent gifts all poverty on the earth,

Like an incarnate Vrhaspati, having swiftly put together various compositions,

In Radhavedha like Arjuna, summoned speedily by the bands of immortals,

Whose hearts were long ago made to wish for him by his glory,

King Bhoja went to heaven" [1]

Ballal Pandit refers to a verse, which was recited by one Kalidasa, a poet, on getting the news of Bhoja's death

"Today(hath) Dhara no foundation, Sarasvati no support, the scholars(are) all scattered, King Bhoja gone to heaven ?[2]

Bhoja's fame travelled beyond the frontiers of his kingdom, and he had left deep imprints on the sands of time In the 13th century the Hoysalas of Mysore built the Hoyalesvarā temple, which, to day, is known as Bojesvara temple, as in course of time the common people around forgot the Hoysalas, but as they remembered Boja (Tamil Boja), the temple had come to be kown after his name A legend has also developed around it that

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1 *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 76-77

2 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 97,

Bhoja lived half the year in his capital and the other half incognito in southern India and built this temple [1] So great was the impression that Bhoja made upon the Socio-political life of the country, that even later Muslim historians recorded his achievements with pride Firishta tells us that ' twice yearly Raja Bhoja kept a great feast which lasted forty days during which all the most celebrated dancers and singers of Hindoostan being assembled, he distributed food and wine, and at the end of the feast new clothes and ten miskals were presented to each guest" [2] Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari mentions that Bhoja conquered several countries He extended his patronage to the learned and was known for his keen sense of Justice and for benevolence His court was crowded with 500 selected scholars [3]

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1 Ayyanger, *Bhoja Raja*, Chap. Bhoja's death

2 *Firishta* (Brigg's), vol I, Introduction, p IXXVI.

3 *A' in-i-Akbari*, vol. I, 470-471.

CHAPTER VI

Paramara Administration

A study of different administrative systems, which were prevalent in India between A D 800 and 1200, shows that their spirit was almost the same though minor differences in their respective organisational aspects may not be ruled out, as each kingdom had its own special political, geographical and socio economic problems. Our knowledge of the Paramara administration is meagre, but if we supplement it with the information, which we get about contemporary governments, a clearer picture of the same may emerge

Central Government (A) King, Queen and Princes

At the head of the State was the king, as the normal form of the government during this period was monarchical There is no evidence to prove the existence of a Tribal or republican or any other form of non-monarchical government in any part of the country, either in the south or in the north [1] The kingship had become hereditary in character throughout India, a fact, which is clear from the records of the Rashtra-kuta, [2] the Paramara, the Candella[3] and the Gahadavala[4] dynasties The Udayapur Prasasti[5] and a number of other Paramara epigraphic records,[6] together with the evidence of the Navasahasanka[7]--carita and the

1. *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 150
2. *Ibid*
3 *History of the Candellas*, p 121
4 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 140
5. *E I*, vol I, p. 225,
6 *I A* vol VI, p 48, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160, *E I*, vol IX, p 182
7 *Sarga* XI, Vs 76, 80

Prabandhacintamani,[1] refer to hereditary succession among the Paramara rulers of Malava At this time, an elective monarchy had become a thing of the past and it was no where to be found in our country Kalhana in his Rajatarangini refers to an isolated clear case of the election of a king, which occurred in A D 939, but it may be treated as an exception Moreover, it is evident from the poet's observations on the occasion that even in the twelveth century A D., when he flourished, the idea of an elective monarch did not appeal him, as he did not approve of the conduct of Kamalavardhana and considered him qualified for admission into a lunatic asylum [2] Thus the kingship was hereditary and the inscriptions usually refer to the successor as "meditating on the feet of" his predecessor,[3]

As enjoined in the Arthasastra[4] and the smritis, the Paramara king usually nominated his successor or the heir-apparent during his life time Merutunga[5] mentions that Simhadantabhata nominated Munja as his successor It is clear from the Paramara inscriptions of the Abu branch that Prahladana,[6] and Kanhadadeva[7] were the heir-apparents of Dharavarsa and Somasimhadeva respectively This practice was generally observed by all the reigning monarchs of the time through out the country, a fact, which is evident from the Rashtrakuta and the Gahadavala

1, *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 30-31
2 *Rajatarangini*, V 456
प्राक्कर्मभिर्मोहितो वा प्रेरितो वा कुमन्त्रिभि ।
नाभूत्सिङ्हासनारूढो मूढ कमलवर्धन.
3 *E I*, vol IX, p 182 *I A*, vol, VI, p 48
परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री सीयकदेव पादानुध्यात,
परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री वाक्पतिराजदेव
4 *Arthasastra*, Rajaputraraksadm
आत्मसम्पन्न सैनापत्ये यौवराज्ये वा स्थापयेत्
5 *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 30-31
6 *I A*, vol IX, p 221
7 *A S I*, 1907-8, p 226

records Govinda II[1] and Asphotachandra[2] were selected and nominated as yuvaraja by the Rashtrakuta and the Gahadavala kings Krishna I and Govindachandra respectively Usually, as prescribed by the Arthasastra,[3] the eldest son of the king was the recipient of this honour, but sometimes the choice fell upon the ablest son, as happened in the case of the Rashtrakuta Govinda III [4] It is clear from the Gahadavala documents that, during our period, a new practice had developed that a prince, before he was recognised as a yuvaraja, was required to be formally annointed as such The two princes of that ruling dynasty namely Asphotacandradeva anp Jayacandradeva are individually referred to in inscriptions[5] as "yauvarajy-abhisikta," which means the one, who had received the coronation as an heir-apparent It appears that the expressions" Rajyabhisheka Kalasa"[6] and "Rajy-abhisiktah"[7] occurring in the Surat Plates of Karka and in the Tilakamanjari of Dhanapala, if loosely interpreted, have been used with reference to Yuvaraja coronation of the Rashtrakuta Govind III and the Paramara Bhojadeva respectively Laksmidhara,[8] though, does not make a mention of the coronation of a yuvaraja, the prevalence of this ceremony may not be doubted, in view of the epigraphic evidence Ordinarily

1 *The Rashtrakutas and their times*, pp 48-49
2 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 88
3 वहूनामेक सरोध पिता पुत्रहितो भवेत् ।
अन्यत्रापद ऐश्वर्यं ज्येष्ठभागी तु पूज्यत ॥१॥

Arthasastra, Rajaputraraksadam

4 *E I*, vol IV, pp 242 ff
5. *E I.* vol VIII, pp 155-56, *E I* vol. IV, p 118
6 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 60.
राज्याभिषेककलशैरभिषिच्य दत्ताम् ।
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरता स्वपित्रा ॥
7. ·· · · · श्रीभोज इत्यात्मज
य. स्वे वाक्पतिराजभूमिपतिना राज्येभिषिक्त स्वयम् ॥

Tilakamanjari, V 43
8 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 144

this "yuvarajabhiseka" ws parformeda at a time, when the crown-prince had attained a certain age, which was probably twenty four [1] But it appears that such a rule was not strictly observed and no minimum age was prescribed for it, as Paramara Bhojadeva was annointed[2] as an heir-apparent by his uncle Vakpatiraja-Munja, when he was a boy of tender age If the king died, leaving behind the crown-prince a minor, sometimes the younger brother of the former took over the administration of the state It was due to the minority of Bhoja that his father the Paramara Sindhuraja ascended the throne of Malava on the death of his elder brother Vakpatiraja II [3] There was nothing unusual with Vakpatiraja-Munja that he, instead of his brother, appointed his nephew, whom he loved much, as the heir-apparent Krishna[4] (A D 1247-1261), the yadava ruler of Devagiri, though had a son named Ramachandra, appointed his brother mahadeva as the yuvaraja

The yuvaraja, at the time of his appointment as an heir apparent, was invested with a Kanthika or necklace, which was the insignia of his office The Rashtrakuta Govinda III had the honour to receive such a decoration at the hands of his father [5] As he was entitled to certain special privileges, he not only enjoyed the status of a panchamahasabda[6] Samanta but also used an insignia or lanchana on his seal, which was different from that of the royal seal [7] It is of interest to point out that the Paramara rulers Lakshmivarma, Harishacandravarma and udaya-varma, who belonged to a junior and a collateral branch of the

1. *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 152.
2. *Tilakamanjari*, V 43, *Prabandhacintamani* p 33
3 *E I*, vol IX, p 182, *E I*, vol XVIII, p 320,
4. *The struggle for Empire*, pp 192-193
5 *E I*, vol IV, p 242
6 *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p 152
7 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, pp 145.

Paramaras of Malava, took the titles of "Mahakumara" and "Samadhigatapanchamahasabdalankara" [1] The seal of the Gahadavala crown-prince consisted of, " a conchshell above and an arrow below with the name of the Yuvaraja across the centre"[2] The grants, which were issued by Yuvaraja Asphotacandradeva, were marked by such an insignia over them [3] "Maharajaputra" appears to be a respectable appellation for a prince of the royal blood and to which references are made in the Gahadavala grants [4] It is difficult for us to find out the exact insignia on the seal of the Paramara crown-prince, owing to the lack of evidence But it may be suggested that, as the royal seals of both the Paramaras and the Gahadavalas consisted of the figure of a garuda, the insignia on the seals of the Yuvarajas of the two contemporary ruling houses was almost identical

In the Paramara administration, the Yuvaraja appears to be an important personage, as his counter-parts in the Rashtrakuta[5] and the Gahadavala administrations were vested with the royal prerogatives of granting land The Gahadavala Yuvarajas Asphotacandradeva[6] and Jayacandradeva[7] exercised the royal prerogative with the sanction of the ruling kings Sometimes a prince, other than a Yuvaraja, also exercised this royal prerogative as was the case with Maharajaputra Rajyapaladeva, who issued two grants[8] during the reign of his father the Gahadavala Govindacandra The heir-apparents, like the Rashtrakuta Krshna

1 *I A* . vol XIX, pp 352-353, *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society* vol VII, p 736, *I A* , vol, XVI, pp 254-255

2 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, pp 145-146

3 *Catalogue of Archaeological Exhibits*, Prov Mus (Lucknow), pt 1, p 8, *E I* , vol VIII, pp. 155-56

4 *E I* , vol IV, p 118,

5 Alas Plates, *E I*,, vol VI, p 210

6 *Banaras Grant* of V. S 1190

7. *E I* , vol IV, p 118

8 *Gagaha Grent af* v s 1199, *and Banaras Grant of* v s 1203

II and Krshna III, became almost the defacto rulers for all practical purposes, when Amoghavarsha I and Amoghavarsha III respectively were reduced to the positions of the de Jure sovereigns due to their old age and religious temperaments [1] Sometimes the inactivity of the reigning king led the Yuvaraja to be more closly associated with the government, as was Govindachandra, who during the reign of his father the Gahadavala Madanachandra exercised almost all the kingly powers [2] Because of the paucity of materials no such examples can be cited from the history of the Paramaras The Yuvaraja usually remained at the capital but at times he was entrusted with a difficult task like that of averting a popular rebellion in any part of the kingdom we are told that the Paramara Vakpati I, during the life time of his father, was dispatched to Dasapura on such a mission, as the people of that district were on the verge of a rebellion [3] At times, the crown-prince was also entrusted with a military command Govinda[4] II and Govindachandra[5] as Yuvarajas, defeated or repulsed Vishnuvardhana IV of Vengi and Ramapala of Gauda respectively

Like the Yuvaraja, the chief queen (Agra or Pattamahisi) was appointed by the sovereign, a thing which is clear from what Munja said to Mrnalavati at a time when he prepared to escape from Tailapa's prison He told her if she accompanied him to his country, he would crown her as his queen consort [6] There is every ground to think that the chief-queen enjoyed a special recognition in the Paramara administrative system, when we see

1 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 152

2 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 145, *History of Kanauj* (1959), p 338

3. *Dhar State Gazette*, p. 130

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 3

5 *The struggle for Empire*, p 52

6 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 34.

the Gahadavala chief-queen invested with all the royal prerogatives *(Samasta-raja-prakriy-opeta)* [1] The only condition, which appears to be was that the grants issued by the chief queen or by any other queen had to receive the consent of the ruling monarch before they could take effect Thus when the pattamahadevis Gosalladevi [2] and Nayanakelidevi [3] made land grants, they did so with the previous approval of the Gahadavala Govindachandra The Candella queen too had a considerable influence on the administration, if there is any truth in the traditional stories about Malandevi, Paramardi's queen [4] Some of the queens also showed active interest in the benevolent activities of royalty, a tradition too well known in Indian history Lahini Devi, [5] who was the sister of Purnapala, the Paramara ruler of Abu, and who was married to Vigraharaja, the ruler of Badari in Vamsaratha, restored an ancient temple of the sun (Bhanu) and also excavated a tank, somewhere near Vasantagadh in the former Sirohi State (Rajputana), in V S 1099 (=A D, 1042) Further, the Ajaygadh Rock Inscription states that Kalyanadevi, the chief queen of the Candella Viravarman excavated a tank for the supply of water, and also built a hall at Nandipura [6]

As it was in the Rashtrakuta administration, [7] the Paramara younger princes and cousins were either entrusted with the governance of provinces or were appointed on other high and responsible posts in the state Dambarasimha, the younger brother of the Paramara ruler Vairisimha I (A D, 836-863) ruled the province of Vagada as a feudatory of the House of Malava [8] Sindhala

1. *History of the Ghhadavala Dynasty*, p 143
2. *E. I*, vol V, pp 117-118
3. *E I*, vol IV, p 108
4 *History of the Candellas*, p 122
5 *Vasantgadh Inscription*, *E I*, vol IX, p 13
6 *E I*, vol I, p 328
7 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 153
8. *E I*, vol XIV, p, 296,

(Sindhuraja) administered a certain district, which he received from his elder brother king Munja [1] Further, Vakpati-Munja appointed one of his sons Chandana as the governor of Jabalipura, modern Jalor, in Jodhpur, Rajasthan [2] The royal brother was advised to remain "on good terms"[3] with his younger brothers as at times the latter asserted their independence over their respective territories and it was in this way that the ruling houses of the Rashtrakutas of Gujarat and of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi were founded It is of interest to point out that, while in the early Medieval history of Northern India, it is difficult to find out a single example to show that princesses or queens were appointed on high and responsible administrative posts in the State, the South knows several such cases Though the Rashtrakuta administration is silent on this point,[4] under the later chalukyas of Kalyana such appointments were made Mailadevi and Ketaladevi, the wives of Somesvara were the governors of Banavasi 12,000 and of the agrahara of Ponnavada respectively [5] Similarly, Akkadevi, the elder sister of Jayasimha II was the governor of Kisukad 70 in A D 1012 and from A D 1037 she ruled Banavasi, Belvola and Puligere jointly with Mayuravarman [6] There is no reference to a regency in the Paramara epigraphic records we, ofcourse, find its direct and indirect references in the Rashtrakuta and the Gahadavala[7] records Amoghavarsha I, when ascended the throne in A D 814, was a boy of 13 or 14 years of age and, as such, during his minority, his cousin Karkka,

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1 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 32

2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 22-23

3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 31

4 The Rashtrakutas and their Times, p 153, A *S*. Altekar has recently pointed out that Revakanimadi, the daughter of Amoghavarshai governed the district of Aedatore in A D 850 (Prachina Bhartiya Sasana Paddhati p 72, p 321)

5 *I A*, vol XIX, p 274 and p 271

6 *The struggle for Empire*, pp 166-167

7. *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, pp 142-143

the Rashtrakuta Viceroy of Gujarat assumed the reins of government, on behalf of the emperor [1] Usually, during the minority of a king, a male relative of his was appointed to act as the regent.

The idea, that the king was a divinity, had established itself firmly in minds of the people Both the Paramara and the Gahadavala inscriptions emphasise the point. The Udayapur Prasasti compares Vakpati I with Satamakha (i e Indra) [2] Padmagupta [3] in his Navasahasanka-Carita, refers to Vairisimha (II) that he "was like Paulomi's husband" i, e Indra The Gahadavala rulers Chandradeva [4] and Govindachandra [5] hava been referred to as incarnations of Brahma and Hari respectively Jayanaka in his Prithviraja-vijaya imagins his king as an incarnation of Ramachandra.[6] Raja Latingadeva built a temple with a view to instal his own image there in [7]

The Paramara rulers of Malava, like some of their contemporaries [8] of other ruling dynasties, took the epithets of *Paramabhattaraka-maharajadhiraja-Paramesvara* which have been taken as conventional expression of sovereignty by independent kings As the earlier Paramara rulers were feudatories of the Partiharas of Kanauj no such titles were taken by them The Udayapur Prasasti [9] does not help us in this connection, but there are other inscriptions, which throw light on this point It is clear from the grants

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1 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 153

2 *E I* vol I, p 237

3 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, V 83-4, *I A* vol XXXVI, pp 163-4

4 *I A* vol XVII, p 15

5 *E I*, vol IX, p 319

6 *Prithviraja-Vijaya* Sarga VII, V 26

7 *E I*, vol IX, p 79

8 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp 48-49, *I A*, vol XVI, p 202 ff, *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 140, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* vol IV, Part II, pp 635.

9. *E I*, vol I, p 225

of Vakpatirajadeva alias Amoghavarsha[1] and of Bhojadeva[2] that the Paramara rulers from Krisnaraja onwards assumed the imperial titles But in the Harsola Plate,[3] which is the earliest Paramara epigraphic record, we see that Siyaka II took also the titles of Maharajadhirajapati and Mahamandalika-cudamani, which are indicative of his acceptance of the supremacy of the Rashtrakutas in the early years of his reign Such a combination of titles is ofcourse unusual but there is evidence to show that one of the Paramara rulers of Abu assumed almost identical epithets. Dharavarsadeva, in his kayadra inscription,[4] has been referred to as Maharajadhiraja Mahamandalesvara Vakpati II, possibly, to commemorate his father 's victory over the imperial Rashtrakutas, took pride in taking their[5] family epithets of Srivallabha and Prthvivallabha [6] Sindhuraja bore the appellations of Kumaranarayana and Navasahasanka [7]

There is sufficient evidence to prove the prevalence of the *abhiseka* or coronation ceremony of the king, during this period Merutunga mentions that the Paramara Simhadantabhata (Siyaka II) " performed the ceremony of Munja's coronation" [8] A reference to this ceremony is also found in the Tilakamanjari [9] The Kamauli grant of V S 1126, which is a Gahadavala[10] record refers to the coronation of the king Jayacandra Laksmidhara,[11] at the command of his sovereign the Gahadavala Govindacandra whose minister of pèace and war he was, wrote his

1. *I A*, vol. VI, p 51, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160
2 *E I*, vol XI, p 182, *I A*, vol VI, p 53.
3 *E I* vol XIX, pp 241 ff
4 *I A*, vol LVI, p 51
5. *E I*, vol VIII, App II, p. 2
6 *I A*, vol VI, p 51, *I. A*, vol XIV, p 160
7 *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga, VI, V. II
8. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 31
9. *Tilakamanjari*, V 43
10. *E I*, vol IV, p 121
11. *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 87

work the Krtyakalpataru In the Rajadharmakanda of this work, he describes the crowning ceremony of a king As he quotes there in the rites described in the Brahmapurana and the Ramayana,[1] it is clear that by that time the form of the ceremony had changed from the Vedic to the Puranaic Further, as there is no reference to the king's oath-taking on the occasion, the constitutional significance of the coronation ceremony had disappeared The court-astrologer, whom Laksmidhara refers to as Samvatsarika and the Gahadavala inscriptions as Naimittika, selected an auspicious hour at which the king was anointed [2] Before the commencement of the actual ceremony, the royal body was rubbed with various soils The soils dug by the tusks of an elephant and by the horns of a bull were applied to the right and to the left hand of the king respectively, with a belief that this would strengthen royal arms The mantra--snana was performed by the king and it was an occasion, when grants were issued by him [3] The Rashtrakuta Indra III granted four hundred villages to Brahmanas at the time of his formal coronation [4] Persons, belonging to all the four higher castes, performed the abhiseka of the king with water, which was brought from several sacred rivers After the conclusion of certain religious rites, he ascended the throne, covered with tiger-skin He was then invested with the insignia of royalty, namely the Umbrella and Chowries Prominent citizens made presents to him and the function terminated with a royal procession through the streets of the capital To mark the occasion, prisoners were released from prisons

The Niti-Sastra writers like Sukra and Laksmidhara have conceived a lofty ideal for the king He was to serve his people as its first servant, as they pay taxes to him [5] He is

1 *Krtya Rajadharma Kanda*, pp (intro) 23-36 and (text) 9-17
2 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 142
3 *E I*, vol IV, p 121
4. *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 100
5 सर्वत फलभुग्भूत्वा दासवत्स्यात्त रक्षणे ।

Sukra 4 2. 130.

the trustee of the public revenues and if he either misuses it or invests it for his individual benefit, he goes to hell[1], a good piece of advice, which even modern administrators may keep in mind It appears that the Paramara rulers rightly administered their subjects, according to the laws of the sacred texts, a thing, which may be inferred from a verse in the Nagpur Prasasti [2] where a king exercised despotic powers tyrannically, totally disregarding the public opinion and the fear of hell, the people were not required to submit blindly to his excesses They were advised to give a stern warning to the tyrant that if he were not to change his behaviour, they would leave his kingdom [3] If the warning fell into deaf ears, they with the help of the Purohita, were asked to depose the king and to place a virtuous member of the same family on the throne [4] The sacred injunction was truely applied against the Rashtrakuta Govinda IV, who was removed from his throne by his ministers and feudatories, with the active sympathy of the distressed people, due to his tyrannical and unpopular administration [5] They placed Amoghavarsha III, an uncle of Govinda IV, on the throne, who was highly reputed for his character and integrity

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1. वलप्रजारक्षणार्थं धर्मार्थं कोपसग्रह ।
परत्रेह सुखदो नृपस्यान्यस्तु दु खद ॥
स्त्रीपुत्रार्थं कृतोयश्च स्वोपभीगाय केवलम्
नरकायैव स ज्ञेयो न परत्र मुखप्रद ॥
Sukra 4 2 35

2 *E I*, vol 2, pp 182-88
पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्त्रयैकतरणे सभ्यक्प्रजापालन–
व्यापार प्रवण प्रजापतिरिव श्रीलक्ष्मदेवोऽभवत् ।

3 अधर्मशीलो नृपतिर्यदात भीपयेज्जन ।
धर्मशीलातिवलवद्रिपोराश्रयत सदा ॥
Sukra 4 1 3

4 गुणनीतिवलद्वेषी कुलभूतोप्य धार्मिक । तत्पदे तस्य कुलज गुणयुक्त पुरोहित ।
नृपो यदि भवेत्त तु त्यजद्राष्ट्रविनाशकम् ॥ प्रकृत्यनुमत कृत्वा स्थापयेद्राज्यगुप्तये ॥
Sukra, 2 274-5

5. *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 107.

The duties of an anointed king (abhisikta-Krtyani) have been discussed in detail by Laksmidhara These primarily consisted of the protection of the Brahmanas, a privileged class, to support religion and to perform such religious ceremonies as would bring peace and prosperity to the realm and the people alike Seven ceremonies have been prescribed in this connection and these are Deva-yatra, Kaumudi-Mahotsava, Indra-dhvaj-ochraya, Navaratri-puja, Cihna-puja, Gavotsarga and Vasordhara Humanitarian activities like that of providing relief to the poor and the sick also constituted important royal duties As economic prosperity and National security form the life blood of the State, the other essential functions of the king were to provide incentive to the development of trade and crafts and to proceed on the Yatra or warlike expedition [1] It may be pointed out that the Paramara rulers of Malava performed almost all the duties, attached to their exalted office They were zealous supporters of the Brahmanas, a fact, which is clear from the landgrants of Bhoja,[2] as at the time of the execution of each grant, the Brahmanas of that particular locality were specifically required to be present alongwith the government officials, The fact, that the Brahmanas[3] were the donees of a good number of the Paramara royal grants, further supports the truth of our contentions They championed the cause of Brahmanism, of course, not with an enthusiasm of an iconoclast, by erecting and endowing sacred shrines in honour of Siva, a Brahmanical deity, Bhoja is credited with

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1. *Krtya*, *Rajadharmakanda*, pp (intro) 40-45, 76-82 and (text) 143-212

2 समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्वाह्मणो··· · ··

I A, vol VI, pp 49-54; *E I*, vol XI, p. 182-183

3. *I A* vol VI, p 51, *E I*, vol XI, p 182-183, *I A*, vol. VI, pp 49-54, *E I*, vol. XVIII, (July 1926) pp 320-324, '*Hindustani*' Oct 1931, pp 494-515

the construction of a number of temples to Siva[1] Udayaditya's devotion to the same god led him to build a magnificent temple at Udayapur As the Paramara sovereigns were paramamaheswara or devout worshippers of Siva,[2] the epigraphic records of Vakpatirajadeva alias Amoghavarsha, Bhojadeva, Jayasimha, Arjunavarman, Devapala and Jayavarman II pay homage to Him[3] Another important deity of the Brahmanical pantheon, namely, Vishnu is paid an obeisance in the Harsola[4] and the Ujjain Plates[5] Sakti-worship, which constituted the third main religious sect in Brahmanism, was endowed by Vakpati II, as he granted the village of Sembalapuraka to meet the expenses of the worship of the Bhattarika, the glorious goddess Bhattesvari at Ujjayani, and for the upkeep of her temple[6] It is thus evident that under the Paramaras, Malava became one of the prominent centres of the Brahmanical religion Keeping in view the healthy tradition, which was laid down by Upendra, the founder of the Paramara house of Malava, in performing a "multitude of sacrifices',"[7] it may reasonably be presumed that his successors followed his foot-steps and observed the seven religious ceremonies as enjoined in the Krtya-

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1 केदार रामेस्व (श्व)र सोमनाथ–
(सु) डीरकालानलरुद्रसत्कै ।
E I, vol I, p 236, V 20, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol VIII, p 121, Bhojapur, (Hindi), p 14

2 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 246.

3 *I A* vol VI, p 52
(चराचरगुरु भगवन्त भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्च्य)
E I, vol XI, p. 182
(ओ जयति व्योमकेशोसौ य सर्गाय बिभर्तिता ।
ऐंदवी शिरसा लेखाजगद्वीजाकुराकृति)
J A S B vol V, p 381, *E I*, vol IX, pp. 109, 119

4 *E I* vol XIX, p 242

5 *I A*, vol XIV, p 160

6 *Ibid*

7 *E I*, vol I, p 225, *Navasahasanka-Carita*, Sarga XI, V. 87

Kalpataru Bhoja's liberality in awarding gifts to the suppliant had hardly any parallel in the history of the early Medieval India, a fact, which is clear from a number of anecdotes, as mentioned in the Prabandhas Being an erudite scholar and a good poet, he was a patron of the learned and the Udayapur Prasasti eulogizes him for the excellent qualities [1] Dhanapala,[2] Uvata,[3] Bhaskarabhatta,[4] whom Bhoja honoured with the title of "Vidyapati" and several other men of letters adorned his court His 'Pavilion of distribution[5] "was in fact, the relief centre for bestowing largess on the destitutes and the learned No contemporary ruling dynasty perhaps produced such a brilliant record of its educational and intellectual activities as was of the Paramara house of Malava. Several monarchs, namely, Vakpati II, Sindhuraja, Bhojadeva, Naravarman, Vindhyavarman and Arjunavarman were devoted to the cause of learning The authorship of atleast two works on medicine namely, the Ayurvedasarvasva and the Visrantavidyavinoda is ascribed to Bhaja [6] This fact helps us to presume that the government of Bhoja took effective measures for liberal medical relief Being the supreme commanders of their armed forces, the Paramara rulers not only sometimes waged aggressive wars but also fought for the territorial integrity of their kingdom against foreign attacks Siyaka II, Vakpati II, Sindhuraja and Bhojadeva, though aggrandized themselves at the cost of their neighbours, had also to fight, sometimes, even for existence

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1. साधित विहित दत्त ज्ञात तद्यन्न केनचित् ।
   किमन्यत्कविराजस्य श्रीभोजस्य प्रशस्यते ॥
   E I, vol I, p 235, V 18
2. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 60,
3. ऋष्यादीश्च पुरस्कृत्य अवन्त्यामुवटो वसन् ।
   मन्त्रभाष्यमिद चक्रे भोजे राष्ट्र प्रशासति ॥
4. शाण्डिल्यवशे कविचक्रवर्ती त्रिविक्रमोभूत्तनयोस्य जात ।
   यो भोजराजेन कृताभिधानो विद्यापतिर्भास्करभट्टनामा ॥
   E I vol I, p 343, V 17.
5. *Prabandhacintamani*, p. 36.
6. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 278-279

A detailed description of the Paramara court is not available but glimpses of it may be found here and there in the Prabandhas Bhoja occupied the throne in the hall of audience[1] to which an entry was regulated by the warder[2] or the royal chamberlain.[3] Sometimes, people, who were prevented from having an audience with the King, resorted to tricks to attain their object[4] Beautiful maidens held the royal umbrella and swung chowriesover Bhoja[5] The betel-box bearert who was probably a brahman, was in attendance in the court and who offered betels to the king, when the latter desired[6] Bhoja attended the court in rich dress and ornaments While the four Arya couplets of philosophical import were inscribed on his bracelet, an other couplet, which was composed by himself, was inscribed on the ornament of his neck[7] There was strict court-discipline and even, a prince could not dare to take his seat without the king's permission[8] Keeping in view Al Idrisi's account that the Chaulukya king of Anahilapattana was attended by courtesans and dancing girls[9] it may reasonably be presumed that such a practice was also prevalent in the Paramara court Bhoja is said to have bestowed on Kulacandra, his commander-in-chief a beautiful damsel,[10] a fact, which may go to show the truth in the above statement Alberuni[11] has strongly indicted the kings that they made dancing girls "an attraction for their cities", and "a bait of pleasure for their subjects," an observation", which is no less important to

1. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 68
2 *Ibid* p 59
3 *The Rashtrakutus and their Times*, p 154
4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 43
5 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 27, *Prabandhacintamani*, p 73-74
6 *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 47, 57, 68
7 *Ibid*, p 37
8 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 14
9. Elliot, *History of India*, (London, 1870) vol I, p 88
10 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 47
11 *Alberuni's India* (Sachau) vol. II, p 157

throw light on the point It appears from the Nilgund[1] inscription of Amoghavarsha I that the Rashtrakuta monarch was attended by courtesans and it leads us to think that this custom was common to almost all the royal courts Dancing girls, with their attractive appearances, not only enchanted the king and the courtiers but also entertained them and the ladies of the capital,[2] who were admitted in the royal court, with their talents in music and dance Bhoja had his guards,[3] who remained near him and were responsible for the security of the royal person Since Vakpati II took titles, which were similar to those of the Rashtrakutas, it may be presumed that he, inorder to exhibit the might and the grandeur of the Paramara kingdom, stationed regiments of infantry, cavalry and elephants around his court, an arrangement[4] which was identical with that of the Rashtrakutas, Siyaka II, who defeated Khottiga and plundered his capital Manyakheta, following the example of the Rashtrakuta[5] monarchs might have exhibited trophies of war outside the royal court

Nothing definite is known about the composition of the Paramara royal court, but we think that the most prominent members of it were the crown-prince and other younger princes, the 'Mahapradhana"[6] or the Prime Minister[7] and his colleagues in the ministry, the warder[8] or the chamberlain and his subordinate staff, senior military officers and other high dignitaries of State. As a number of Paramara rulers were patrons of the learned, Poets like Padmagupta,[9] Dhanapala[10] and

1 *E I.*, vol VI, p 98.
2 *I A*, vol XII, p 13
3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 38.
4 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 155
5. Sanjan Plates, *E I*, vol XVIII, p 235 ff.
6 *E I*, vol IX, p 120-23, *I. A* vol XIX, p 349.
7 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33, 36
8 *Ibid*, p 59.
9 *Navasahasankacarita* Sarga I, V. 6.
10 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 57.

several others were there Besides the poets, the astrologers had also their places in the court Keeping in view the facts, that the Gujarat Rashtrakutas[1] and the Gahadavalas[2] maintained court-astrologers together with the great hold, which astrology had on the popular mind, it may reasonably be presumed that they also figured in the court of the Paramara rulers of Malava,[3] Merutunga's reference to an astrologer, who came to the court of Munja, may be mentioned in this connection[4] There is no reason to think that the doctor was absent from the Paramara court, when we know Bhoja s proficiency in medicine and also the fact that under the Gahadavalas he was one of the court officers[5] While the Gahadavala inscriptions refer to him a "Bhisak", Laksmidhara calls him a "Pranacarya"[6] Foreign powers were represented by their accredited diplomatic agents in the court at Dhara, as was the case with Damara[7] Sometimes the Para mara court temporarily provided protection to certain potentates or princes, as happened with Dhandhuka,[8] the Paramara ruler of Abu and with Bhikshu[9] grandson of Harsa, the ruler of Kashmir The prominent non-official members of this august body were, probably, merchants, presidents of traders[10] associations or guilds and other notables of the capital,[11]

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1 *I A* vol, V, p 145.

2. *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 142, 153

3 D N Shukla, *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, (Hindi), pp 168-169

4 *Prabandhacintamani*, p. 32

5 *E I*, vol XI, p 24, *E I.* vol VIII, pp 153-55

6 Krtya, *Rajadharma Kanda*, p (text) 28, *E I*, vol VIII, pp 153-55

7. *Prabandhacintamani*, pp 43-44

8 *E I*, vol IX, pp. 155-156.

9 सवृत्तप्रत्यभिज्ञोथ पुत्रवन्नरवर्मणा ।
मालवेन्द्रेण शस्त्रास्त्रविद्याभ्यासमकार्यत ॥
Rajatarangini, Taranga 8, V. 228

10 *E I* vol. XIV, p 310, V 75, *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, (Hindi) pp 168-169

11. *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 157

The Paramara king was a benevolent despot. He was the corner-stone of the administrative edifice and exercised absolute[1] authority on all the branches of the government He was the Supreme commander of his armed forces and his decisions on matters of peace and war were final when Munja decided to start on his fatal expedition against Tailapa, his decision was irrevocable and even his prime-minister Rudraditya could not dissuade him,[2] As it was impossible for a single individual to support the Atlantean load of administration, the Paramara king was assisted by a council of ministers One of his important executive functions was the appointment of ministers, Commander-in-chief and other high officers of the State Merutunga informs us that Bhoja appointed the Digambara Kulacandra as his commander-in-chief[3] The ministers held their offices during the king's pleasure and were solely responsible to him So long as they served him loyally, there was no danger of their being removed from their places If Ballal is to be believed, Munja dismissed his prime-minister Buddhisagara[4] The king usually presided over the meetings of the council of ministers and when ever he was absent, the decisions of the council were placed before him for final approval[5] The state levied traditional taxes upon the people but the king could alter them As he was expected to govern the kingdom in accordance with the laws of the Sacred texts, new legislative measures were not initiated by the king There is every reason to believe that the Paramara rulers ruled the kingdom, in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Sacred Law, as their Candella contemporaries, namely, Harsa[6] and Dhanga[7] have been praised

1 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 37

2. *Ibid*, p 33

3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 46

4 *Bhojaprabandha*, p 13

5 *Prachin Bhartiya Sasana Paddhati* (Hindi 1959) p 87.

6 *E I* vol I, p 126, Vs 20.

7 *I A* vol XVI, p 204, line 14

for those qualities As enjoined in the Manu-Smriti[1] and the Sukranitisara,[2] the Paramara rulers, inorder to ascertain public opinion about their administrative policies, under took tours of inspection in different parts of the kingdom Dhanapala mentions that,"it was almost a routine duty of a ruler to tour, not over any conquered territory, but over his own dominions and to restore vicchedas, which in the circumstances could have been mostly due to judicial or executive aberration" [3] It was when Simhadantabhata was "roaming about on his royal circuit"[4] that he found a newly born male child, who received the name of Munja Bhoja, when he was in the capital, used to take a round of the city at night,[5] as he had no other convenient time for that In the morning, while he attended an Assembly of pandits (Panditasabhayam),[6] the General Assembly[7] (Sarvavasara), which C H Tawney[8] considers equivalent to the diwan-i-amm or darbar-i-amm, demanded his presence in the evening Some of the other executive functions of the king were to collect secret information gathered by spies and to receive envoys of other countries at the Court "Sthanpurushas"[9] were those unofficial spies of a country, who were active in another country At the capital, the king sat as the highest court of appeal He remitted sentences and released prisoners on his birth-days or on occasions, which marked his success in arms.[10]

(B) *Ministry*

During our times, the king-in-council ruled the realm The ministry constituted an integral part of the administrative mach-

1 *Manu,* VII, 123
2 *Sukra,* I, 751-752.
3 *Tilaka-manjari,* p 54
4 *Prabandhacintamani,* p 30
5 *Ibid* p. 46, 70, *Bhojaprabandha,* p 52, 66, 67
6 *Ibid* p 69
7 *Ibid.* p 36, 46, 68
8 *Ibid* p 36 (Footnote 2)
9 *Ras Mala* p 188, *Prabandhacintamni,* p 41, (Footnote 3)
10 *Prachin Bhartiya Sasana Paddhati* (Hindi) 1959, p 88

inery, a fact, which has been stressed by ancient Indian political thinkers It may be presumed on the basis of the evidence of some contemporary ruling dynasties namely, the Rashtrakuta,[1] the Chalukya,[2] the Yadava[3] and the Chahamanas[4] of Nadol that ministers enjoyed a position of respect and influence in the Paramara administration. Sometimes they possessed feudatory titles as was the case with Raja Ajayadeva, the Prime Minister of the Paramara ruler Jayavarman II.[5] The position is more clear in the South Indian epigraphs while Dalla, the chief foreign minister of Dhruva was a Samanta,[6] Kalidasa, the war minister or commander-in-chief of the Chalukya monarch Jagadekamalla was entitled to the Panchamahasabdas[7] Some of them bore high sounding titles,[8] like "Mahasamanta" and "Mahamandalesvara" As there were no constitutional checks of the modern types upon the king, whatever the power and the influence the ministers wielded in the administration was a purely personal one and it varied with the ability, the strength of character, the nature and temperament of the monarch and the ministers The welfare of the State largely depended upon the ministers[9] and there are examples to show how some of them raised their ruling dynasty to prominence Laksmidhara, the author of Krtyakalpataru, who was a mahasandhivigrahika and mantrisvara of the Gahadavala king

1. *E I*, vol IV, p 60
   'तस्य य प्रतिहस्तोऽभूत्प्रियो दक्षिणहस्तवत्'
2 *I A*, vol VI, p 140,
3. *Ibid* vol XIV, p 69
4. *E I*, vol XI, p 308
5 *Ibid* vol IX, p. 120-23.
6 *Ibid*, vol. X, p 89,
7. *I A*, vol VI, p 140
8 *Prachin Bhartiya Sasana Paddhati* (Hindi 1959), p 136
9 राष्ट्रस्य पुष्टिस्स्वजनस्य तुष्टि । धर्मस्य वृद्धिस्सकलार्थसिद्धि ॥
   नन्दन्ति सन्त प्रसरन्ति लक्ष्म्य । श्रीचगदेवे सति सत्प्रधाने ॥
   I A, vol VIII, p 41

Govindacandra claims that, "the success of his sovereign was due to his wonderful counsel "[1] Similarly, it is referred to of the Candella minister Sivanaga that he "alone, by his excellent conduct, gradually made the government of the king Vidyadhara one to which all the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth" [2] There is nothing on record to show that such high claims were ever made by the Paramara ministers of Malava, but their valuable contribution to the growth of that ruling dynasty to an Imperial position, may not be denied

As the Paramara epigraphic records are mostly copper plate grants, they do not help us as regard the merits and qualific-ations of ministers But we may have an idea about them, if we look into records of some contemporary ruling dynasties The qualifications of ministers, which have been prescribed in the Salotgi inscription of the Rashtrakuta Krishna III, are that they were to be learned, sweet-tongued and well-versed in the science of politics[3] It is clear from the Mau[4] stone inscription that thro-ughout the country the qualifications of ministers were almost the same while Prabhasa, who was appointed chief of all the ministers (akhilamantrimukhya) by the Candella rulers Dhanga and Ganda, was highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics (Nayaprayoga—gahane Sudaksa).[5] Sivanaga,[6] a minister of Vidyadhara possessed sacred knowledge like Dhisana (Brihas-pati) Laksmidhara, in the Rajadharma Kanda of the Krtyakalpataru, refers to different qualifications, which a minister should possess

1 "*Tat Sarvam Khalu yasya mantra-mahim-oscaryam*" Krtya, *Danakanda*, pp (intro) 89 and 48

2 *E I* vol I, p 199 VS. 23-24

3 'पारगो राजविद्याना कविमुख्य· प्रियवद ' ।

E I, vol IV, p 60.

4 *E I.*, vol I, pp 199-201

5. *Ibid*, p 199, VS 20-22

6. *Ibid*, lc 23-24

and they are that he should be "a heroic and successful person, born of a good family, cool-headed and well-versed in the Sastras and nitis and mantra"[1] However, an important difference in recruitment of ministers lay between the South and the North, during the first half of the period under review. While in the Deccan recruitment of ministers from the military ranks was fairly common,[2] the north Indian monarchs insisted upon having civilian ministers But it appears, that from the middle of the eleventh century A D ministers in the north were also required to possess military qualifications Ananta, a minister of the Candella Kirtivarman, was "a leader of horses and elephants among enemies, a superintendent of the forces of the town (Purabaladhyaksa), a vanquisher of adversaries, and the sole chief of all horses,[3] Similarly, Gadadhara, the chief minister of the Candella kings Prithvivarman and Madanavarman, was not only "skilled in archery" but was also an, "expert in maintaining elephants, horses and chariots"[4] As Laksmidhara was himself a Brahmana and a 'Maula' officer, he considers these two qualifications desirable for a minister He explains the maulas or hereditary officers as "pitrpaitamahan"[5] Both Laksmidhara and his father Bhatta Hrdayadhara were mahasandhivigrahikas His views are in conformity with the Smrtis, which give preference to the Brahmanas and to the principle of heredity in the selection of ministers Sukra[6] thinks that the caste of a person should

1 Krtya, *Rajadharma Kanda*, pp (text) 22-24.

2 *E I.*, vol V, p 173, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times* p 163, I, *A.*, vol XIV, p 26, I. *A* vol XIV, p 70

3 *E I.*, vol I, p 200, VS 27-31

4. *Ibid*, p 201, VS 41-42

5. Krtya, *Rajadharmakanda*, pp (text) 22-24, *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 149

6 *Sukra*, III, 54-55

नैव जाति न च कुल केवल लक्षयेदपि ।
कर्मशीलगुणा पूज्यास्तथा जातिकुलेन च ॥
न जात्या न कुलेनैव श्रेष्ठत्व प्रतिपद्यते ।
विवाहे भोजने नित्य कुलजातिविवेचनम् ॥

not be considered at the time of his appointment to the post of a minister There is sufficient evidence to show that, during our times, the hereditary principle, as regards appointments to ministerial posts, was commonly observed, if the son was of suitable ability The Mau[1] and the Bagheri[2] stone inscriptions of Madanavarman and Paramardi respectively record the genealogy of two families of ministers who served different Candella kings Sometimes, members of the royal family were also appointed as ministers The Chahamana ruler of Sakambhari Vigraharaja IV, who was also known as Visaladeva, appointed his son Sallakanapala as his chief minister [3] But this was an exception and not the rule

It is difficult for us to find out either the actual strength of the Paramara ministry or the different portfolios of its members, due to paucity of evidence There is no unanimity among the Smriti and the Niti writers about the strength of the ministry The number of ministers, which is seven or eight in the Manu-Smriti,[4] varies to ten in the Sukraniti [5] But a study of the provisions upon the subject in the Arthasastra shows that the number varied from eight to twenty [6] In actual practice, it appears, the needs of the situation primarily determined the number of ministers in a State, a view, which finds support both with Manu[7] and Kautalya [8] The Bhandup plate of the Mahamandalesvara Chittarajadeva, who was the ruler of Northern Konkan informs us that in A D 1026 the Silahara ministry

1. *E I*, vol. I, p 199
2 *Ibid*, p 210
3 *I A*, vol XIX, p 218
4 सचिवान्सप्त चाष्टौ वा कुर्वीत सुपरीक्षितान् । 7 54
5 *Sukraniti*, 2 70
6. *Part* I, chap 15
7 *Manu Smriti*, 7 61
8 'यथासामर्थ्यमिति कौटिल्य ।'

Arthasastra, Part I, Chapter. 15

consisted of five members [1] The number of ministers was reduced to four under Anantadeva, the silahara king of the same dynasty.[2] In 1069 A D., the Yadavas of Chandor, who ruled over a petty kingdom, had a ministry of seven.[3] Keeping in view the extent of the Paramara kingdom of Malava, it can reasonably be presumed that the number of ministers in the ministry at Dhara was a good one, since the smaller contemporary feudatory states had ministries, which consisted of five to seven members

Sukra, whom A S.Altekar[4] places in the eighth century A D. is the only Niti writer, who throws some light on allocation of the different portfolios to ministers According to him the ministry was to consist of ten ministers, namely, Purohita, Pratinidhi, Pradhana, Saciva, Mantri, Pradvivaka, Pandita, Sumantra, Amatya, and Duta but he further adds that according to some, the Purohita and the Duta were not to be members of the ministry.[5] This means that a standard ministry was to have eight members of the cabinet rank, together with a number of deputy ministers,[6] if required

It appears, that during our times, the Purohita or chaplain ceased to be a member of the ministry, a fact which is evident from the Gahadavala inscriptions,[7] where he is differentiated from the Mantrins This was equally true of the South, since in the Silahara inscriptions he is referred to separately from Mantrins

1. *I A.*, vol, V, p 278.
2. *Ibid*, vol. IX, p 35.
3 *E I.*, vol II, p 225.
4. *Prachin Bhartiya Sasana Paddhati* (Hindi 1959), p 139
5. *Sukra*, II, pp 141-143, 145-147
6 *Ibid*, II, 109-110.
7. राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितप्रतीहारसेनापति·· ·······

E I, vol XI, p 24, *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 147, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 169.

and Amatyas [1] The office of the Purohita is clearly distinguished from those of the Saciva and the Amatya in the Candella inscriptions [2] It, further appears, that in the North there was a high priest in the kingdom, as one of the inscriptions of the Chedis refers to Mahapurohita [3] R S Tripathi rightly points out that the purohita "ministered to the spiritual needs of royalty, whom he assisted in the maintenance of the Dharma" [4] with the loss of his ministerial position, the Purohita was naturally deprived of his political influence over the king But he was not powerless Being at the head of the priestly class, he continued to exercise immense moral influence over the crown and his anger was sufficient to bring back the king on the right path [5] There is no doubt that the office of Purohita existed under the Paramaras of Malava, as a pointed reference to him has been made in the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara of Bhoja.[6] It may not be unreasonable to suggest that the "Raja-Purohita"[7] of the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara is identical with the Mahapurohita[8] of the inscriptions Laksmidhara thinks that", a Brahmana of good family, who has done penance and is well- versed in the Vedas, Itihasa, Dharma-Sastras, Astrology and in the process of performing various sacrifices and religious ceremonies, should be chosen as a priest" [9]

Pratinidhi is the second in Sukra's list of ministers and of whom we do not find any reference in the epigraphic records

1 *I- A*, vol. V, p 277
2 *History of the Candellas*, p 129
3 Kumbhi Plates of Vijayasimha, *J A S B*, vol XXXI, 116
4 *History of Kanauj* (1959), p 341
5 यत्कोपभीत्या राजापि धर्मनीतिरतो भवेत् ।
Sukra, 2, 99
6 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, pp 168-169, *Ibid* p 149
7 *Ibid*, pp 168-169
8 *E I*, vol IV, pp 103-104, *Ibid*, pp 104-106
9 *Krtya, Rajadharmakanda*, pp (text), 164 ff, *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 150

The word, which literally means "representative", may correctly be understood as representative of the king in the ministry As his function was to act for the king in his absence, it appears that he is identical with the Yuvaraja of the Gahadavala inscriptions The proposed identification gets further support from the fact that both in Sukra's list and in the Gahadavala epigraphic records the Pratinidhi and the Yuvaraja respectively have been placed before ministers i e, the Pradhana or the Mantrin Where the crown-prince was not in a position to take his seat in the ministry, the king, probably, appointed some other prince of rhe royal blood as his Pratinidhi, whose status, as Sukra points out, was inferior only to that of the Yuvaraja [1] Altekar[2] has lately suggested that the "uparaja" of the Jatakas was almost similar to the Pratinidhi, as referred to by Sukra In the Paramara history of Malava, the position of Sindhuraja at the time of Munja's death, appears to be that of the Pratinidhi, as the crown-prince Bhoja was a minor

According to Sukra, Pradhana or the Prime Minister was the most prominent member of the ministry. He refers to him as "Sarvadarsi,"[3] which means one, who keeps an eye over the entire administrative system It is clear from records, both epigraphic and literary, that the Paramara administration had the post of the Prime-minister in the ministry He has been referred to as "Mahapradhana" or "Mahamatya" An inscription[4] of the Paramara ruler Yasovarma dated V S 1192 (=A D 1135) mentions Purusottamdeva as his mahapradhana Raja Ajayadeva[5] was the Prime-minister (mahapradhana) of the Paramara king

1 *Sukra*, 2.71.

2 *Prachina Bhartiya Sasana Paddhati* (Hindi, 1959), p 141

3. सर्वदर्शी प्रधानस्तु

Sukra, 2, 82, *Sukra* II, 168-173

4. *I A*, vol XIX, p 349

5. *E I*, vol IX, p. 120-23.

Jayavarma II The Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara[1] and the Prabandha-chintamani[2] refer to him as Mahamatya Rudraditya,[3] Yasobhata-Ramangada[4] and Rohaka[5] were the chief-ministers of Vakpati II, Sindhuraja and Bhojadeva respectively Prabhasa[6] and Gaoadhara,[7] the "mantrimukhya", Vatsaraja,[8] the "mantrindra," Jajuka,[9] the "Sarvadhikarakarana", Sallakanapala,[10] the "mahamantri" and Bhadravishnu,[11] the "puranamatya" were the Prime-ministers in their respective administrations As today, so during the period under review, the Premiers used to take over the charge of some particular portfolio as well Laksmidhara, who was the Chief-Minister (mantrisvara) of the Gahadavala king Govindacandra, was also in-charge of the Foreign Office[12] In the South, the practice was the same, as the Prime-ministers of the Silahara[13] ruler Anantadeva and of the Yadava king Seunachandra II[14] were also the Lord High Treasurer and the in-charge of the revenue administration respectively.

The war-minister or the commander-in-chief whom Sukra calls Sachiva, a designation by which he was not ordinarily known, was another important member of the ministry In the Paramara administration he was known as "Baladhyaksa",[15] a

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1 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, pp. 168-169
2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33
3 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 33, *I A*, vol XIV, p 160
4 *Chronology of India*, p 102
5 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 36
6 *E I* vol I, p 199, VS 20-22
7 *Ibid*, p 201, VS 41-42
8 *I A*, vol XVIII, pp 238-239
9 *E I* vol I, p, 333 V, S 5-7
10 *I A*, vol XIX, p 218
11 *Ibid* vol XII, p 136
12 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 149.
13 *I A*, vol IX, p 35
14 *Ibid* vol XII, p 127.
15 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra* (Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara, 15, Rajanivesa), pp 168-159

title, which is equivalent to that of the Senapati, used in the Candella,[1] and the Gahadavala[2] records He is called "Kampana" by Kalhana [3] In a Yadava[4] record, he takes the high sounding title of "Mahaprachanda-dandanayaka "Merutunga[5] informs us that Kulacandra, a Jain was the commander-in-chief of the Paramara Bhojadeva The commander-in-chief was assisted in his military operations by the officers[6] and the generals of the army A general of the Paramara army took the title of "Dandadhisa" anp Sadha is referred, to as one of the generals of Bhoja [7] The "Dandadhisa", appears to be identical with the "Dandanatha"[8] of the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara laksmidhara, who has accepted the Matsya-Purana's, view that only a Brahmana or a Ksatriya may be appointed to the post of the Senapati, lays down certain other qualifications for the incumbent According to him, "a Senapati is expected to be of good family, valiant and hardy, he should know the use of different weapons and have some knowledge of elephants and other animals used in warfare, he should also be well-versed in military strategy and be acquainted with different formations of army '.[9] Sukra, whose views on the point are almost identical with that of Laksmidhara, holds that the war-minister should be an expert in the art of war, in the use of weapons and in the organisation of army.[10]

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1 *History of the Candellas*, p 122

2 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty* p 151

3 *Rajatarangini*, Sarga7 365

4 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 168

5 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 46

6 *Idid*, p 46

7 *E I*, vol IX, p 75, V 17

8 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, pp 168-169

9. *Krtya, Rajadharmakanda*, p (text)23, *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 151

10 Sukra, 2. 95

The foreign Minister, who has been referred to a "duta" by the earlier Indian political writers[1] and whom Sukra calls a "Mantri", was known throughout the country, by the title of "Sandhivigrahika" or "Mahasandhivigrahika" during the period under review In the Paramara, the Chaulukya,[2] the Candella[3] the Gahadavala,[4] the Rashtrakuta,[5] the Pala,[6] the Sena,[7] the Kalachuri,[8] the Chalukya[9] and the other administrative systems he was at the head of the Foreign Office Since entrusted with the delicate task of making Peace and War, as the title indicates, he naturally, occupied a position of eminence in the Council of ministers Bilhana[10] and Maladhara[11] were Sandhivigrahikas of the Paramara rulers Vindhyavarma and Jayavarma II respectively It is of interest to point out that a new tendency towards specialisation of officers, in our period, led both the small and the big kingdoms to have, in addition to the chief foreign minister, several ordinary Sandhivigrahikas in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs While a petty kingdom of the Silaharas[12] of Northern Konkan required a Karnataka-Sandhivigrahika or the foreign minister for Karnataka, the Chalukya empire of the Decean had ministers of peace and war for the Lala and for the Kannada countries (Lala-Sandhivigrahika, Kannada-Sandhivigrahika)[13] On the basis of

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1 *Kautalya* (Arthasastra), Manu (Manusmrti, chap VII) etc
2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 41, 44
3. *E I* vol XXV, p 5
4 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 149
5 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 166
6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 242
7 *The struggle for Empire*, p 276
8 *E I*, vol XI, p 142, *E I*, vol XII, p 20
9 *The struggle for Empire*, p 278
10 'विन्ध्यवर्मनृपते. सादभू सान्धिविग्रहिकविल्हण कवि '
Paramaras of Dhar and Malwa (By Lale and Luard), p 37
11 *E I*, vol IX, pp 120-23.
12 *I A*, vol. V, p 227
13 *E I*, vol XII, p 274, 334

this evidence, it may be presumed that the Paramara kingdom of Malava, during its palmy days, must have had atleast two or three foreign ministers, bearing titles like Karnata-Sandhivigrahika, Chaulukya-Sandhivigrahika, Cedi-Sandhivigrahika etc It is evident from the Rashtrakuta records that this minister was also entrusted with the drafting of the royal copper-plate grants [1] It appears that Rudraditya, the Prime-minister of the Paramara Vakpati II, was also a Sandhivigrahika, as he is mentioned in an official grant of that monarch, dated V S 1036 (=9/9A D) [2] Some times a Sandhivigrahika is mentioned as one of the witnesses of a mortgage deed [3] According to Sukra, one of the essential qualifications for a foreign minister was that he must be well versed in the fourfold policy of Sama (conciliation), dama (appeasement), danda (war) and bheda (causing dissension in the enemy camp) [4] But Laksmidhara is of the view that he "was to be an adept in six-fold policy, a judge of opportunity and a diplomat" [5]

The minister of Justice or the chief Justice, whom Sukra calls Pradvivaka, was an other member of the ministry As almost all the works[6] on administration refer to him a member of the ministry, his absence from the Paramara records may not be taken a negation of his ministerial status Next to the king, he constituted the highest court of Appeal He (Vadavivaka) is the drafter of the Sanjan Plates of the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha[7] I Dharmadhikara[8] of the Candella inscriptions may be equated with Sukra's Pradvivaka, as the office of the former is clearly

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1 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 166
2 *I A*, vol XIV, p. 160
3 *E I*, vol XXV, p 2
4 *Sukra*, II, 191-193 *State and Government in Ancient India* (A S. Altekar), p 123
5, *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 155.
6 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 167
7 *E I*, vol XVIII, p 235
8 *History of the Candellas* p 129

distinguished from that of Pandita in epigraphic records of that dynasty

During our period, the place of the Purohita in the ministry was taken over by Pandita, the minister of morality and religion in the Sukraniti He administered subjects, which were related to religion and morality One of his important duties was to determine the religious policy of the kingdom But he was not absolutely free in the matter, as he had not only to keep in mind the religious beliefs, ideas and morals, which had received a recognition from the society and were current but also those, which had become out-dated and useless [1] In accordance with religion and culture, he suggested necessary changes in the old existing religious system of the State [2] We agree with A S Altekar that the appointment of this minister was an extension of the Asokan tradition of the Dhammamahamatyas [3] There is no reference to the office of Pandita in records of the Paramaras of Malava, but keeping in view that their contemporaries and neighbours the Kalachuris of Tripuri appointed a Dharmapradhana [4] in addition to Mahapurohita, it may be presumed that in the Paramara administration there was some high officer of the status of a minister, who was in-charge of religion and public morals. It appears that the Vinayasthitisthapakas of the Guptas,[5] Samana-mahamatas of the Andhras[6] and the Dharmankusa[7]

1 *Sukra* 2 99-100
वर्तमानाश्च प्राचीना धर्मा के लोकसश्रिता ।
शास्त्रेषु के समुद्दिष्टा विरुध्यन्ते च केऽधुना ॥
लोकशास्त्रविरुद्धा के पण्डितस्तान्विचित्य च ।
नृप सबोधयेत्तैश्च परत्रेह सुखप्रदै ॥

2 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* 1903-4 p 109, Sukra, II, 100

3 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 169

4 *Kumbhi Plates of Vijayasimha J A S B*, vol XXXI, p 116

5 *A S R*, 1903-4, p 109

6 *Nasik Inscriptions, E I*, vol VIII, p 91

7 *Multai Plates, I A* vol XVIII, p 230

under the early Rashtrakuta ruler Nannaraja (A D. 708) were similar officers of the same rank

Treasurer or collector-general, who is referred to as Samaharta in the Arthasastra[1] and who is styled as Sumantra by Sukra, was an important personage of the ministry While in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris,[2] the Candellas,[3] the Gahadavalas[4] and the Silaharas[5] he figures with the title of Bhandagarika, the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara refers to him as Kosapala or Kosarakshaka[6] But in one of the Candella inscriptions Subhata is mentioned both as Kosadhikaradhipati and Bhandagarapati, a fact which goes to show that, in our time, the minister of the treasury, possibly, combined in himself both the offices[7] The expression Bhandagarika literally means the officer incharge of the royal store As during our period, a large part of government revenues from the rural area was collected in kind, grain was to be accumulated in royal granaries under the supervision of this minister, a thing, which explains the significance of this title As the treasury constituted the backbone of the State, the title of Kosapala, which was taken by the Paramara treasurer, is more appropriate and expressive than one to which we find references in inscriptions of different dynasties According to Sukra, it was the duty of the minister of the treasury to know the annual receipts and expenditures of his ministry together with the balance, which was left in the end[8]

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1 Artha, II, 35

2 *E I* vol XXI, p 95

3 *Histery of the Candellas*, p 129

4 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 152

5 *I. A*, vol IX, p 35

6 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, pp, 168–169, p 149

7 *History of the Candellas*, p 137

8 इयच्च सचित द्रव्य वत्मरेस्मिस्तृणादिकम् ।
व्ययीभतमियच्चैव शेप स्थावरजगमम् ॥

Sukra, 2. 101.

Another member of the ministry was the Revenue minister, whom Sukra refers to as Amatya There is no doubt that the office existed under the Paramaras of Malava, as one of the inscriptions of Maharajadhiraja Mahamandalesvara Dharavarsadeva, the Paramara ruler of Abu dated V.S 1220 (=A D 1163) refers to his Amatya Sivasimha [1] He also finds a place in the Candella[2] and the Yadava[3] inscriptions As the Revenue Minister's office maintained necessary landrecords, the king, before announcing any remission of taxes on land must have consulted him It is clear from the Kayadra inscription that Dharavarsadeva, when granted a remission of taxes on the village of Phulahali, belonging to Bhattaraka Devesvara, of the temple of Kasesvara, his Amatya Sivasimha who was an inhabitant of the village of Vasana, was present there, as the latter granted a field on the occasion [4] The fact, that the above grant, in which Amatya Sivasimha figures as a donor was executed by the prince (Palhanadeva) shows the immense influence of the Revenue minister, which he wielded over the Paramara administration On the basis of the evidence of the Sukraniti, Altekar thinks that his duty was" to have a correct inventory of villages, towns, and forests in the countryand of the income expented from each His office also had an accurate account of the land under cultivation, and land lying fallow, as also of the expected produce from the different mines" [5] As the inspector General of Records was an officer in the revenue department, he must have worked under the supervision and control of the Revenue Minister In records of several contemporary ruling dynasties, namely, the Kalachuri,[6] the Chaulukya,[7] the Pala,[8] the

1. *I A*, vol LVI, p 51
2 *History of the Candellas*, p 129.
3. *E I*, vol II, p 225
4 *I. A*, vol LVI, p 51.
5 "*Sukra*, II,103-5, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p 125
6 *E I*, vol XXI, p 95, *The struggle for Empire*, p 274
7 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (New Ed) p 349
8 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 242,

Gahadavala[1] and the Sena,[2] he is referred to and designated as Akshapatalika or Mahakshapatalika In view of this evidence it may be presumed that the office of the Inspector General of Records existed under the Paramaras of Malava While Roma[3] Niyogi thinks the Akshapatalika of the Gahadavala records, an Accountant-General, R S Tripathi[4] favours the popular view i e keeper of records Laksmidhara, who refers to this officer as "Aksa-raksita" or 'Aksa-paripalaka", prescribes certain qualifications for him According to him, he "must not only have knowledge of income and expenditure but should also be able to read people's character and be well informed about the produce of the land (aya-vyaya-jna-loka-jnades-otpatti-visaradah)"[5] He was assisted in his work by a long train of clerks, who were known as the Karanikas and the Kayasthas Thinking, that in the Rashtrakuta[6] and the Silahara[7] administrations revenue records were carefully preserved and the originals of the copper plates were kept at the district head-quarters, it may be presumed that a similar arrangement existed under the Paramaras of Malava as well If the donee had lost his copy of the copper plates, which were granted to him by the State, his claims were verified by the government by a reference to its secretariate [8] The Paramara government offered facilities to donees, who desired to exchange their villages among themselves, by ordering necessary changes in their copper plate grants [9]

1 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 152

2 *The struggle for Empire*, p 276

3 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 152

4 *History of Kanauj* (1959) p 342

5 *Krtya Rajadharma Kanda*, (text) p 26

6 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 170, *E I*, vol IX, p 24

7 *E I*, vol III, p 271,

8 *E I*, vol V, p 208

9 *Idid*, vol II, p 182

While the Pala,[1] Kalachuri,[2] Gahadavala,[3] and other[4] land-grants refer to a number of officials, who were to be informed of the king's commands and explanations (ajnapayati, bodhayati adi-sati)[5] about the land granted, the Paramara land-grants[6] are conspicuous by the absence of such a list of dignitaries It is clear from the grants of the Paramara Bhojadeva[7] that the entire body of the government officials was divided into two distinct classes, in this connection While the first consisted of officers of the Central government, who were appointed by the king (rajapurusas], the second comprised of those, who were selected or elected by the village people[8] A similar distinction is also made in the Kahla[9] inscription of the Kalachuri, Sodhadeva (V S 1134=A,D 1077) and in the Jhusi[11] inscription of the Pratihara Trilocanapala dated V S 1084=1027 A D While in these inscriptions the village officials are generally referred to as mahattama or mahattara, the villages, under the Paramara administration were in charge of the usual Pattakila (Patel, headman) The importance of the janapada, the village community or population, in land-grants may very well be imagined from the fact that it is invariably mentioned in these inscriptions Under the Paramara administration, both the central and the village officials, namely the rajapurusas and the Pattakilas, were, probably, equally concerned with the formalities and technicalities of a grant

1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 241

2 *The struggle for Empire*, p 274, *E I*, vol XXI, p 95

3. *E. I*, vol XI, p 22, *E I*, vol XIV, pp 193,197.

4 *The struggle for Empire* p 276

5 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 146

6 *I A*, vol VI, p 49-54; *E I*, XI, p 182-183

7 *I A*, vol VI, p 49-54, *E I*, vol XVIII, p 320-324

8 *I A*, vol VI, p 49-54
समुपगताम्समस्तराजपुरुपान्ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासि पट्टकिलजनपदादीश्च सभादिशत्यस्तु व सविदित

9 *E I*, vol VII, pp 85 ff

10 *I A* vol XVIII, p 33.

Duta, who is the last in Sukra's list, had lost his ministerial position, during our period, and meant an envoy R. S Tripathi rightly points out that "these formed a diplomatic corps responsible for maintaining proper relations with foreign powers."[1] It may be inferred from the evidence of the Prabandhacintamani that the Paramara Bhojadeva maintained his envoys at the courts of the Chaulukya[2] Bhima and the Kalachuri Karna[3] According to Laksmidhara, "a person of high talent and integrity of character" was only to be appointed to the office of 'Duta[4]

Due to lack of evidence, it is difficult to explain the exact working of the Paramara council of ministers at the capital. The king, who usually presided over the meetings of the council of ministers, is advised by Manu[5] to consult them both collectively and individually Sukra fears that in the presence of the king a minister might hesitate to express his true opinion upon a particular subject and as such each of them should communicate his views to the king in writing, supported by relevant facts,[6] The same writer lays down that each minister was to be assisted by two deputy ministers or secretaries (Darasakas) and their number may be increased, if heavy work in a department required more hands Where a department was a minor one, its business may be carried on without the help of any "Darasaka" He further recommends transfer of portfolios from one

1. *History of Kanauj* (1959), p 342.
2. *Prabandhacintamani*, p 41, 43-44, p 68
3. *Ibid*, pp 73-74.
4. *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 154.
5. *Manu Smriti*, 8 57.
6. *Sukra*, I, 363-4

रागाल्लोभाद्भयाद्राज्ञ स्युर्मूका इव मन्त्रिण ।
नताननुमतान्विद्यान्नृपति स्वार्थसिद्धये ।।
पृथक् पृथङ् मत तेपा लेखयित्वा समाधनम् ।
विमृशेत्स्वमतेनैव यत्कुर्याद्वहुसमतम् ।।

minister to the other [1] When ever a decision was taken, the minister concerned of the department reduced it to writing and certified that he fully agreed to it It was than sent for the royal consent It became final, when the king approved it and signed it with his own hand Sometimes he directed the crown prince to sign over it on his behalf [2] It appears that this practice was followed under the Paramara administration, as the land-grants of Bhojadeva bear the royal signatures in his own hand [3]

It appears that the central secretarlate of the Paramara government at the Capital was also known as "Sri-Karana", since under the Chaulukya[4] and the Chahamana[5] administrations it bore the same name One of the important functions of the central government and its secretariate, was to exercise control and supervision over the provincial, the district and the local administrations. This was done with the help of spies, who were

1 *Sukra*, II, 109-111
एकस्मिन्नधिकारे तु पुरुषाणा त्रय सदा ।
नियुञ्जीत प्राज्ञतम मुख्यमेक तु तेषु वै ॥
द्वौ दर्शकौ तु तत्कार्ये हायनैस्तान्निवर्तयेत् ।
त्रिभिवा पचभिवापि सप्तभिर्दशभिश्च वा ॥
अधिकारवल दृष्ट्वा योजयेद्दर्शकान्वहून् ।
अधिकारिणमेक वा योजयेद्दर्शकैर्विना ॥

2 *Sukra* II, 363, 67
मत्री च प्राड्विवाकश्च पडितो ज्ञनसज्ञक ।
स्वाविरुद्ध लेख्यमिद लिखेयु प्रथम त्विमे ॥
स्वमुद्राचिन्हित च लेख्याते कुर्युरेव हि ।
अङ्गीकृतमिति लिखेन्मुद्रयेच्च ततो नृप ॥

3 'स्वयमज्ञामगल महाश्री स्वहस्तोय श्री भोजदेवस्य'
I, A vol VI, p 49-54, *E I*, vol XI, p. 182-183

4 *E I* vol IX, p 64

5. *Idid*, vol III, p 206

active through out the kingdom As long before our time Kautilya[1] recommended employment of different types of spies by the central government, it may be presumed that an elaborate system of espionage existed under the Paramara administration. Occasional tours of inspection, which were undertaken by the Paramara rulers of Malava, helped the centre to stabilize its authority over various parts of the kingdom Under the Kalachuris of Kalyana, the central government appointed five speical Inspectors for the purpose and they were known as "Karanam". They were required to see that, throughout the kingdom, Public money was not misused, that the administration of justice was proper and equitable and, lastly, that rebels were punished immediately[2] Every year, special officers were deputed by the centre to audit the accounts of local bodies and of temples, under the Chola administration It is clear from one of the Pratihara inscriptions that on the orders of the king a similar officer was sent to Ujjayani to conduct an enquiry into certain matters[3] It may be pointed out that during the reigns of the Paramara rulers, Bhojadeva[4] and Udayaditya,[5] temple-building activity in Malava received much impetus at the hands of the State It is possible that the Paramara government may have adopted those special measures to control the provincial and the local administrations, which were enforced by the Kalachuri, the Pratihara and the Chola administrations The Central government exercised its control over local officers through its special messengers, who were entrusted with the task of communicating its orders to them and who were ordinarily high officers[6] of the State

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1 *Arthasastra*, I, 11

गूढपुरुषनियोग.

अमात्यवर्गो गूढपुरुषानुत्पादयेत् ।

कापटिकोदास्थितगृहपतिकवैदेहकतापस व्यजंनान् सत्रितीक्ष्णरसदभिक्षुकीश्च ।

2 *E C*, vol VII, Nos 102 and 123

3 *E I* vol XIV, p 182-8

4. *Ibid*, vol I, p 236.

5. *The struggle for Empire*, p 68

6. *E I*, vol XXII, p 167, *I A*, vol V, p 155, *E. I*, vol XI, p 107

Before we take up the consideration of the district and village administrations under the Paramaras of Malava, it will be proper to throw some light upon the working of those departments of the Central government, which have not been discussed under Śukra's classification of ministers One of such departments was that of Palace-Affairs, the existence of which may not be doubted in a monarchy According to the Sukraniti, the officer incharge of the palace was designated as "Saudhagehadhipa" [1] The Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara [2] refers to royal seraglio as "Antahpur" "Antahpurika" of the Gahadavala inscriptions, whom Laksmidhara refers to as "Antahpur-adhyaksa" was the superintendent of the seraglio [3] Sukra mentions him as 'Sambharapa" [4] He was undoubtedly one of the important officials of the State, as the work, which was assiged to him was of great responsibility Another was Public works department. Keeping in view the fact that some of the Paramara rulers were enthusiastic builders, it may reasonably be presumed that it existed under the Paramara administration Moreover, an indirect reference to it is also found in the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara [5] The department may have employed a staff of subordinate officers, artisans (Silpakaras) and labourers for executing its plans in building construction. It is clear from the "Jativarnadhivasa" of the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara that distillers and sellers of wine were to be settled in the North-West (Vayavya) direction of the city This fact leads us to think that the Paramara government had an excise department under an officer, who may be equated with Suradhyaksa of the Arthasastra [6] It not only maintained government distilleries but also controlled distillation and consumption of spirituous liquor by private individuals Due to its black soil, Malava is rich in

1 II, 119
2 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, p 149.
3 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 153
4 *Sukra*, II, 117
5 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, pp 168-169.
6 *Arthasastra* II, 25 (Suradhyaksah)

cotton producation and it appears almost certain that the Paramara government had a department of Industry under it, the chief concern of which was to foster cotton industry. Clothing fabrics, thread and cotton were some of the chief articles for sale [1] Probably, one of the other functions of this department was to control traders Associations,[2] which existed in the villages and cities of the Paramara kingdom The officer, who was at the head of this department, may be treated as equivalent to "Sutradhyaksha"[3] of the Arthasastra and "Vastradhyaksha"[4] of the Sukraniti As commerce constitutes the life-blood of a kingdom, no government can afford to be indifferent to it Further, during the reigning period of the Paramaras, Malava was a wealthy country and there were markets both in rural and urban areas There must have been some organisation to control the markets and regulate the imports and exports of the kingdom and this, we believe, was the Department of commerce of the Paramara government The officers of this department, who were entrusted with the duty of supervising the market, may be equated with "Panyadhyaksha" of the Arthasastra [5] A S Altekar thinks that "Hattapati" in Bengal and "Drangika" in Kathiawar were similar officers [6] One of the other important functions of the department was to realise custom duties on all goods, which were drought for sale into the city This was done by officers, were who were designated as "Saulkika"[7] under the Pala and the Paramara administrations, and, who may be identified with "Sulkadhyaksha", as referred to by Kautilya,[8] The Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara, in its chapter "Vastu-Sanasthan-Matrika",

1 *E I*, vol XIV, pp, 309.

2 *E. I*, vol XIV, p 310, V 75

3 *Arthasatra*, II, 23 (Sutradhyakshah)

4. *Sukraniti*, II, 119

5 *Arthasastra*, II, 16 (Panyadhyakshah)

6 *Prachina Bhartiya Sasana Paddhati* (Hindi), p 172

7. *E I.* vol XIII, p 71, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 242.

8 *Arthasastra* II, 21 (Sulkadhyakshah)

lays down site-plans of a city The land, over which the proposed city was to be built, has been divided on the basis of caste and profession, into forty parts, each of which was to have a different and definite shape than the other The two portions of land, which were allotted to courtesans and prostitutes, were to be of the shapes of "Bhaga" and "Aedipada" [1] This leads us to think that they constituted a good percentage of city's population It is just possible that the Paramara government may have appointed a few superintendents to exercise control over them and their profession and whe may be treated as identical with "Ganlkadhyaksha" of the Arthasastra[2] India is and had always been primarily an agricultural country and as such the value and the importance of cattle-wealth is immense The Paramara government was conscious of this fact and it appointed officers, who were designated as "Gokulika'[3] to rear good breeds and deal with other subjects connected with animal husbandry There were similar officers (Gokuladhikara-purusas)[4] under the Gahadavala administration Another department of the Paramara government was that of mines This may be presumed from the fact that it existed in the Gahadavala[5] kingdom, which was contemporary to that of the Paramaras The department employed geologists, who assisted it in the exploration and exploitation of the mineral resources of the kingdom It is thus, clear that there were several departments of the Paramara government During the reign of Lalitaditya Muktapida (A D, 724-760), the number of departments of the Kashmir government was twenty three.[6] According to the Sukraniti their

1 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra* (Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara, chapter 38) p 149

2 *Arthasastra*, II, 27 (Ganikadhyakshah)

3 *E I*, vol XIX, p 74

4 *Ibid*, vol XIV, p 193, *History of Kanauj*, (1959), p 343

5 *E I*, vol XIV, p. 193

6 *Rajatarangini* I, 118-20, IV, 141

number appears to be twenty [1] It may reasonably be concluded that the number of departments of the Paramara government was between twenty and twenty three

Besides those already referred to, there were some other high officials of the Paramara government The Pratihara,[2] who had always occupied a prominent place in the official hierarchy in ancient India, was one of them In records of contemporary ruling dynasties, namely, the Pratihara,[3] the Kalachuri,[4] the Chandella,[5] the Gahadavala,[6] the Sena[7] and others,[8] he is designated as Pratihara or Mahapratihara or both He may be identical with the "Dauvarika", as referred to by Kautilya [9] Ordinarily, his duties and responsibilities were those of the royal chamberlain, but the Gahadavala and the Chandella inscriptions throw more light on this point While in the former,[10] he is one of those officers, who consent to the grants issued by the Maharajaputra Govindacandra, the latter[11] shows that he had to fight on the battlefield, if occasion arose Certain qualities have been prescribed for him namely" a fine presence, tact, charm and suavity" [12] In one of the Chandella inscriptions he is praised as ' beloved of good men", "a favourite counsellor", and "a wise man" [13]

1. *Sukraniti*, II, 117
2 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 59
3 *E I* vol XVIII, pp 107, 110, *Ibid* p 97.
4 *The struggle for Empire*, p 274
5 *History of the Candellas*, p 148
6 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 151
7 *The struggle for Empire*, p 276
8 *Ibid* p 277
9 *Arthasastra*, I, chap 21
10 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 151, *I A*, vol, XIV, pp 101-4, *E I*, vol II, pp 358-61
11 *E I.*, vol I, p 333, VS 11
12 *Krtya, Rajadharma Kanda*, p (text) 25
13 *E I*, vol I, p 333, Vs 10.

It appears, that under the Paramara administration, there were three classes of executive officers, namely, Mahasadhanika,[1] Mahasadhana[2] and Mahasadhyapala[3] There is no doubt about the importance of the office of the Mahasadhanika, as the Paramara king Vakpatiraja II issued the Bhagavatpura[4] grant dated V S 1036 (=A D 979), at the request of Asini, who was the wife of his Mahasadhanika Mahaika The poet Dhanika,[5] who commented on the Dasarupa, was Mahasadhyapala of this prince The Mahasadhanika may perhaps be equated with the Mahadauhsadhasadhanika and the Dushtasadhya of the Pala[6] and the Kalachuri[7] records respectively The Mahasadhana appears to be identical, with the Mahasadhanabhaga of Lalitaditya's government in Kashmir.[8]

Feudatories

When the Paramara rulers of Malava rose to an imperial position, they were served by princes, who owed allegiance to them and who held their territories as their feudatories The Paramaras of Vagada and of Jalor, with their headquarters at Amaravati and at Jabalipura respectively, ruled as feudatories of the Imperial House of Dhara There is evidence to show that some of the princes of Vagada distinguished themselves by rendering valuable military services to their Paramara sovereigns Kanka, who accompanied his overlord Siyaka II of Malava in his march against Khottiga, the Rashtrakuta ruler of Manyakheta,

1 *I A* vol XIV p 161, *Ibid*, vol XIX, p 348
2 *E I*, vol XIX, p 74, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 244
3 Wilson, ' *Select specimens of the Theatre of the* Hindus", Introduction, pp XX, XXI
4 *I A*, vol XIV, p 160
5 H H Wilson, "*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the* Hindus, 1835, p XX
6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 242
7. *E I*. vol XXI, p 95
8 *Rajatarangini*, IV, 141-43.

died fighting bravely at the battle of Kalighatta, which took place on the bank of the Narmada [1] Satyaraja,[2] who was a contemporary of the Paramara Bhojadeva, fought on his behalf, against the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, as believed by D C Ganguly It is clear from the Panhera[3] inscription that another Vagada prince, namely, Mandalika captured in battle the commander (Dandadhisa) Kanha and handed him over to his overlord Jayasimha, who succeeded Bhoja to the Paramara kingdom of Malava

That the Paramara House of Dhara exercised control over their feudatories is clear from the fact that sometimes the latter did not enjoy an unfettered right of making land grants There is epigraphic evidence to show that before they issued land grants, they were required to obtain the consent of their liege,[4] a practice, which was prevalent in the Eleventh century A D Gangadeva, a feudatory of the Paramara ruler Jayavarman, granted land with the permission of his sovereign [5] The same practice existed in the Rashtrakuta[6] and the Pratihara[7] empires, which were contemporaneous with the Paramaras Sometimes, the Paramara monarch granted land, which lay with in the territories of his feudatory The Paramara ruler Naravarman granted twenty "ploughs" of land in a village, which belonged to his feudatory Rajyadeva [8]

Politico-administrative Divisions

As today, the grama or the village constituted the lowest administrative unit of the Paramara kingdom The villages were

1 *E I* vol XIV, p 296
A S I, 1916-17, part I, p 19, *E I*, vol XXI, p 42
2 *E I* vol XXI p 47
3 *E I*, vol XXI, p 47
4 *J A S B*, vol VII, p 736-9
5 *E I* vol IX, p 120-123
6 *I A*, vol XII, p 15, *E I*, vol IX, p 195
7 *E I*. vol IX, p 9
8 *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of Western India*, p 54, *Bhandarkar's List*, p 180,

grouped into the next higher administrative division, which was known as Pratijagaranaka Six of them have been referred to in the Paramara records and which were Amadapadra (in the Nilagiri mandala) Mahuada (in the Mahuada pathaka), Mandaraka, Narmadapura, Pagara, and Sakapura It may, perhaps, be equated with "Pattala", which was an administrative unit of the Gahadavala[1] and the Chandella[2] kingdoms Today, it roughly corresponds to a Tahsil of a district The Pratirajyaka[3] was perhaps an officer, who was incharge of the administration of this territorial sub-division The larger units in the ascending order were Pathaka, Bhoga, Vishaya and Mandala The five Pathakas, the three Bhogas and the two Vishayas, of which we find reference in the inscriptions, were Inganapata, Bhrmgaricatuhsasti, Mahuada, Ujjayani[4] and Nagadraha, Gardabhapaniya, Ghaghradora (in the Sthali mandala) and Rajasayana (in the Mahadvadasaka mandala), Audrahadi in Selluka and Mohadavasaka respectively[5] It is difficult to find out the exact relationship between Pathaka, Bhoga and Vishaya but, keeping in view the territorial limits of the Paramara kingdom, it may be presumed that all the three administrative terms have been used synonymously to denote a district Moreover, as the size of the administrative divisions varied from time to time in different kingdoms, any generalisation,would be dangerous There is sufficient truth in Altekar's view that kingdoms like those of the Palas, Paramaras, Chaulukyas, Chandellas and Gahadavalas were divided only into districts and their subdivisions[6] But in one respect we

1 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 138, U N Ghoshal considers 'pattalas" as fiscal rather than administrative divisions *The struggle for Empire*, p 276

2 *History of the Candellas*, p 132, *I A*, vol, XVII, pp 230-236

3 *E I*, vol XIX, p 74

4 'Hindustani' (Oct 1931, p 494-515)
'श्रीमदुज्जयिनी पश्चिम पथकान्त पाति किरिकैकाया'

5 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 235-237

6 *State and Government in Ancient India*, p 156-157.

differ from the learned scholar In one of the grants of the Paramara Bhojadeva[1] dated V S 1076, the village Vatapadraka is referred to as situated within the bhoga Ghaghradora, which was in the mandala, named ,Sthali Two facts are clear from this evidence Firstly, that bhoga and mandala are not synonymous and Secondly, that the latter was a higher administrative unit than the former Another fact, which supports our contention, is that while an officer, who was entrusted with the administration of a mandala was designated as "Mandalika" and "Mahamandalika",[2] the one who administered a Vishaya, was called a ' Samanta".[3] Thus it seems, that mandala was the highest administrative unit of the Paramara kingdom and which may correspond to a commissioner's division of today, consisting of two or three districts As the words Desa and Vishaya are synonymous according to the Amarakosa,[4] it may be suggested that the Desilaka[5] was another officer of the Paramara government, who was perhaps incharge of a district The Paramara kingdom was comprised of eleven mandalas and they were Avanti, Mahadvadasaka, Nilagiri, Purnapathaka, Samgamakheta, Sthali, Vindhya, Vyapura, Upendrapura, Selluka and Uparahada Out of these Selluka covered a territory, which contained 1500 villages[6] only and it, with no stretch of imagination, seems to be a province, as believed by D C Ganguly [7]

Administration of Mandala, Pathaka or Bhoga or Vishaya

Due to lack of evidence it is not possible for us to form an adequate idea about the working of the Paramara administrative

1 *E I*, vol XI, p 182-183
'स्थलीमडले घाघदोरभोगान्त पाति वटपद्रके'

2 *Prog Rep of the Archaeological survey, Western circle*, 1921, p 54

3 *E I*, vol XIX, p 74

4 *History of the Dharmasastras*, vol III, p 138

5. *E I*, vol. XIX, p 74

6 *Ibid*,

7. *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 244

machinery in a mandala As it was the largest administrative unit, it may be presumed that the Mandalika exercised considerable powers over their subordinates The view gets its support from the fact that almost such powers were possessed by the provincial governors in the Rashtrakuta administration [1] The possibility, that the Mandalika had a military force at his disposal may not be ruled out, as he required its assistance both in times of peace and war While in peace he used it for maintaining law and order and for controlling local officers with in his territorial jurisdiction, in times of war, he rendered military assistance to the imperial government Probably, he was also at the head of the revenue administration, The presumption may hold good, if we keep in mind that under the Rashtrakutas a provincial governor enjoyed that position [2] Even today, the commissioner of a division is vested with wide revenue powers It appears that the Mandalika was assisted in his administrative work by a council, which was comprised of non-official members, and each of whom was known as Desamahattara [3] A S Altekar informs us that sometimes the word Desa has been used for a mandala [4] Nothing is know about the nature and powers of this council

we do not get any information from the Paramara inscriptions about the administration of the Pathaka or Bhoga or Vishaya As the administration of a vishaya was organised almost on the same lines as was of a mandala, the Samanta was a replica on a smaller scale of the Mandalika He was responsible for the maintenance of internal peace and order in the district and was assisted in this work by a small military force He also enjoyed considerable revenue powers, as he was responsible to the Mandalika

1 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 174

2 *Ibid*, p 175

3 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra* (Samarangana - Sutra - Dhara, 15 Rajanivesa) pp 168 169

4 *Prachina Bhartiya Sasana Paddhati*, p 183

or to the imperial government for the revenue of his district. Probably, the police officers like Caunka, Dandanatha[1] and Dandapasika[2] worked under him On the analogy of Desamahattaras, as referred to in the Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara, it may be presumed that in each district there was a council of Vishayamahattaras to assist the Samanta In his administrative work The Kapadwanj[3] grant of Krshna II, which is a contemporary Rashtrakuta record of the Ninth Century A D. also refers to Vishayamahattaras or Members of the district council The council, which was a non-official body and which possessed administrative powers consisted of prominent citizens of the district.

Village Administration :

During our period the village was under the charge of a village headman, the office of whom had become an institution in itself, since its existence may be traced as early as the vedic period In the Paramara epigraphic records we find reference to three village officials namely the Pattakila,[4] Mahattama and Gramataka[5] The Pattakila, who also figures in a record of the Kalachuris[6] and who is generally identified with the modern Patel, is believed by D C Ganguly as the king's representative in the village[7] In other words, he formed the link between the Central and village administrations An important fact, which his

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1 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra* (Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara, 15 Rajanivesa), pp 168-169

2 *E I*, vol XIX, p 74

3 *Ibid* vol I, p 55

4 *I A* vol VI, p 49-54
(पट्टकिलजनपदादीश्च)

5 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 244

6 *E I* vol XXI, p 95

7 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 244.

assignment has brought to light, is that the Paramara administration was a highly centralised one It was he, through whom orders of the Central government were communicated to the village folk and the responsibility for their proper execution lay with him It is difficult to say if he exercised any control over the village council

Mahattama was the village headman He also figures in the Gahadavala grants with the same designation [1] Unlike Pattakila he was a non-official and, possibly, a representative of the people, a fact, which may very well be realised from the evidence of the Rashtrakuta[2] and the Gahadavala records Roma Niyogi observes, "The explicit distinction made between the mahattama and the rajapurusa clearly indicates that the former was not appointed by the crown, but probably elected by the villagers or the village elders" [3]

Since early times, one of the most important duties of the headman has been to arrange for the defence of the village [4] He was the leader of the village militia [5] The Arthasastra enjoins villagers to stand up for their own security [6] Sometimes, the headmen and the village heroes cheerfully laid down their lives for the safety of their villages, a fact, which is clear from several Rashtrakuta records [7] The silence of the North Indian

1. *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 159
2 *Epigraphia Carnatika*, VIII, Sorab No 234
3 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, pp 159-160
4 *Village Communities*, pp 45, 54-55
5 यथा स्वसैन्येन सह ग्रामाध्यक्षादिसैन्य सर्वाध्यक्षस्य भवति

Sankhyatatvakaumudi, (Jha Ed) p, 54.

6 ग्राम क्रोशद्विक्रोशमीमानमन्योन्यारक्ष निवेशयेत् ।

Arthasastra, II Janapadanivesah

7 *E C* VIII, Sorab Nos 102, 216, 326, 351, 454, 455, 445 etc ; *I A*, vol VII, p 104, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, pp 190-192

inscriptions on this point leads us to infer that the problem of defence in rural areas was not so acute in that part of the country as it was in the South Another significant duty of the headman was to collect government revenue The existence of the village council in the Paramara kingdom may not be doubted in view of this belief that such non-official bodies existed in higher administrative units namely the Vishaya and the Mandala The members of the village council were known as Gramamahattaras,[1] who assisted the Mahattama in the collection of taxes Some of the contemporary inscriptions of the Palas and the Rashtrakutas refer to mahattaras[2] and Grama-mahattaras[3] respectively Nothing is known from the Paramara records about the nature, membership, functions and powers of the village council The possible reason for this omission is, that it was not as developed and a powerful institution, under the Paramaras, as it was in the south and particularly under the Cholas It appears that the highly centralised administration of the Paramaras was not congenial to a healthy development of that democratic institution However, it may be inferred from the Bhillamala (Rajputana) inscription[4] dated A D 1277 that the village council consisted of five members (Panchakula) only, though its tenure is not definitely known It is equally doubtful, if its revenue powers were as wide as that of the Chola village-council. Probably,the head man presided over the meetings of the village council Sukra[5] considers the headman as the most influencial individual of the village, an observation, which is not perfectly true with regards to his position in the

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1 *A History of the Village Communities in the Western India*, pp 20-21

2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* p 242

3 *E* I, vol IV, p 242, I *A*, vol XII, p 251

4 *E I*, vol XI, pp 49-58,

यस्मात्पंचकुलं सर्वो मतव्य इति सर्वदा ।
तम्य तस्य तदा श्रेयो यस्य यस्य यदा पदम् ॥

Bombay Gaz I, I, p. 480

5 *Sukraniti*, II 343

Paramara administration It appears that the Pattakila was considered a superior officer to him, as he figures in the three[1] out of four landgrants of the Paramara Bhojadeva Nothing definite can be said about Gramataka Is he identical with Gramapati[2] of the Rashtrakuta records ?

The villages in the Paramara Kingdom were also grouped into units and each of such unit was known by the name of the chief village There were several such groups of villages with various numeral endings and out of them Nine have been referred to They were Bhaillasvami-mahadvadasaka (12), Maktulagrama-dvicatvarimsa (42), Muktapali-caturasiti (in the Audrahadi Vishaya) (84), Bhrmgari-Catuhsasti (64), Vodasira-astacatvarimsa (48) (in the Narmadapura Pratijagaranaka), Tinisapadra-dvadasaka (12), Nayapadra-Saptadasaka (17), Vatakhetaka (36) and Savarisole (16)[3] U N Ghoshal rightly points out that "This reminds us of the system of chief's estates in the Rajput clan-monarchies, for 12 is an exact fraction of the standard size (84) of such estates".[4] It may be pointed out that this system of groups of villages with similar numeral endings was also in existence in the kingdoms of the Kalachuris of Chedi[5] and the Chahamanas of Sakambhari and Ajmer[6] The new system, under which the king and junior princes of the clan held various estates, was the super-imposition upon the older administrative units of a kingdom

1 *I A*, vol VI, p 49-54, *E I*, vol XVIII (July, 1926), pp 320-324 "*Hindustani*' (Oct 1931) pp 494-515

2 *Solotgi inscription of Krshna* III, Surat plates of Karka, etc, *The Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p 189

3 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 235-237

4 *The struggle for Empire*, p 275

5 *E I*, vol II, p 175

6. *I A*, vol XLIII, p. 60.

Town Administration

Under the Paramaras of Malava a number of cities and towns[1] rose to prominence Some of them are Ujjain, Dhara, Mandapa (modern Mandu in Dhar, Madhya Pradesh), Mahesvara, Udayapur, Bhojapura, Vardhamanapura, Harsapura, Narmadapura (Namavur),[2] Candrapuri, Rajabrahmapuri, Brahmapuri, Devapalapura, Nalakacchapura, Bhilsa (Bhailsan,[3] modern Vidisa, Madhya Pradesh), Ghargun (Gagrun?), Bijagar (Bijayagadh), Hindiya,[4] Sangama[5] and Gogasthana It is possible that some of these places may have been district headquarters of the Paramara government The Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara of Bhoja refers to the "Nagara-gosthika",[6] which clearly proves that in every city the municipal administration was in the hands of a council of elders or city Fathers The evidence is in conformity with that of the Prabandhacintamani, which refers to the "chiefmen of the city" of Dhara [7] The council consisted of non-official members, who were selected from different wards of the city. It may be inferred from a record dated V S 1198 (=1141 A D), which not only throws light upon the prevalence of the municipal administration under the Chahamanas of Nadol but also mentions that the entire population of a town was represented by sixteen Brahmanas, two being selected from each ward [8] The city-council has been referred to as Gosthi Panchakula or Chaukadi[9] but this does not mean that there were only five members in it. It carried on the administration of the city with the help of an executive committee, each member of which was

1 *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 239
2 Sachau's *Alberuni*, vol I, p 203.
3 *Ibid* vol I, p 202
4 Briggs, *Firishta*, Introduction, LXXVI
5 *E I* vol XIX, p 69.
6 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, p 149.
7 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 43.
8 *E I*, vol XI, p 39,
9. *Ibid*, vol IX, p 36

designated as Vara[1] or Varika,[2] whose period of membership varied from one[3] to three[4] years In Rajputana the office of the executive committee was known as "Sthana", where important documents were preserved[5] under the custody of an official, who was designated as Karanika There is nothing wrong in presuming that the system of the municipal administration in the Paramara kingdom was almost on the same lines as it was in Rajputana and Gujarat

Revenue and Expenditure ,—

The principal sources of income of the Paramara government were ,—

(i) A share of the produce of the fields
(ii) House-tax
(iii) Rent in Cash,[6]
(iv) Tolls and other dues from the market [7]
(v) Ferry-tolls [8]
(vi) Imposts on Salt [9]

A study of the Paramara epigraphic records shows that most of the taxes, which were levied by the State were regular ones The "Bhagabhoga" to which we find reference in the landgrants

1 *Ibid*, vol I, p 154, 173-179

2 वर्तमानवर्षवारिकजोग चद्र

Bombay Gazetteer, vol I, p. 43

3 *Ibid*,

4 *E I*, vol I, p. 173-79

5 लिखितस्थानांनुमतेन करणिकसर्वंहारिणा

E I, vol I, p 173-79

6 *J A S. B*, vol V, p 382, *J Am. O. S*, vol VII, pp 31, 34

7. *J A S B*. vol VII, p 740

8. *J Am O S*, vol, VII, p. 31.

9 *Ibid*

of the Paramara Bhojadeva,[1] has been variously explained by historians while Tripathi[2] and Altekar[3] think that the term refers to two different taxes, Ghoshal[4] holds the view that it is used for a single specific tax According to Tripathi While Bhaga represents a stipulated grain-share of the State in the actual produce of the land, Bhoga refers to enjoyment of certain rights by the land lord when the land lies fallow Altekar explains the term as referring to two different taxes together namely Udranga and Uparikara He thinks them nearly synonymous with Bhaga and Bhoga respectively The learned scholar, who has based his conclusion on an analysis of the Rashtrakuta records, remarks that there is not a single grant of that ruling dynasty where Sodrangah and Soparikarah figure along with the expression Sabhagabhogakarah[5] But this is not true in case of the Paramara landgrants[6] where Soparikaram or Soparikarah figures with the expression Sabhagabhogam or Bhagabhogah According to the same scholar while Bhaga stands for the land tax, Bhoga represents the petty taxes realised in kind by the king every day[7] It is thus clear that there is no difference of opinion between Tripathi and Altekar about the Bhaga tax As regards Bhoga, Altekar's view does not appear to be very sound. If Bhoga and Uparikara are almost identical terms, why both of them have been used together side by side in the Paramara land grants The term "Soparikaram" literally means a tax, which was realised over and above some other tax As it is

1 *I A*, vol VI, p 49-54, *E I*, vol XI, p 182-183
2 *History of Kanauj* (1959), p 348
3 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 212.
4 *Hindu Revenue System*, p 214
5 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 214
6 'सभागभोग मोनरिकर'

E I, vol XI, p 182-183.

'हिरण्यभागभोग सोपरिकर'

I A, vol VI, p 49-54
7 *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 215

used immediately after the expression "Sabhagabhogam", it proves two facts. Firstly, that Uparikara was not the same as Bhoga and Secondly, that it was to be paid over and above (=upari) the normal taxes Bhaga and Bhoga Fleet suggests that Uparikara may have been the tax on cultivators, who had no proprietory rights in the soil [1] According to Ghoshal "Sabhaga-bhoga" is a technical term, which signifies the king's grain-share on the produce of land paid in kind [2] It is thus admitted by Tripathi, Altekar and Ghoshal that Bhagabhoga consisted of the portion of revenue, which was paid in kind

The Paramara inscriptions do not help us in finding out the actual rate of land-tax,which was levied by the government As hindu law-givers of Ancient India hold different views on this point, no uniform rate of land tax is to be found in the Smritis and the Arthasastra While according to Manu[3] the state demand should vary between 8% to 16%, the Arthasastra prescribes a levy of 25%[4] The Sukraniti lays down that the State demand on land should vary with the nature of the irrigation of the soil According to him the land, which was irrigated by a river should pay 50% of the produce as government revenue while one, which was irrigated by tanks and wells should pay only 33% of the produce Unirrigated and barren lands were not exempted from the payment of the government revenue and while the former should be taxed at the rate of one-fourth of the produce, the latter at one-sixth [5] Sukra recommends the classification of land on basis of fertility and

1 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol III, p 98

2 *Hindu Revenue System*, p 214.

3. 'धान्यानामप्टमो भाग षष्ठो द्वादश एव वा'

Manusmriti, VIII, 130

4 'चतुर्थमश धान्याना'

Arthasastra, Book V, chapter 2 'कोशाभिसहरणम्'

5 *Sukra*, IV, 2, pp 115-16.

enjoins that it should be measured exactly before the assessment [1] The principle of taxation on land, which is advocated both by Sukra and Laksmidhara ,is based on humane grounds While the former[2] advises that the king should not realise his revenue in such a way as to destroy the cultivators, the latter[3] condemns any taxation which may ruin the prosperity of the people It is clear that the Smrti and Niti writers have given great latitude to the state in determining its land tax However, it may be presumed that the three factors, which may have determined the land tax in the Paramara kingdom, were the quality of the land, the needs of the state and the interests of the cultivators

Hiranya was another well-known tax of the period to which we find reference in the Paramara inscriptions [4] The word Hiranya has two senses, "gold" and "money" or "cash" whether in gold, silver or copper [5] It has also been explained as income-tax or tax on capital or as a term which implies the royal rights over treasure trove and mines of precious metal [6] Ghoshal, however, holds a different view According to him it was probably land revenue paid in cash [7] It appears from some of the inscriptions[8] that the system of realising the land revenue in cash began sometimes in the ninth century A D But it may not be forgotten that the land revenue was paid in kind

1 *Ibid*, pp 121-22
2 *Ibid*, p 113
3 *Krtya, Rajadharma Kanda*, pp (text), 87 ff
4 'हिरण्यभागभोग सोपरिकर'

I A, vol VI, p 49-54, *E. I*, vol XVIII, p 320-324

5 *History of the Dharmasastras*, vol II, p 124, footnote, 164
6 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p 170, *History of the Candellas*, p 138
7 *Hindu Revenue System*, pp 60-62
8 *I A*, vol XVI, p 174, *E I*, vol XII, p 20, *S I. I C* (Edited by Hultzsch), vol 2, Nos 4 and 5

as Bhaga tax It appears from the expression "Hiranyadayasametam Sabhagabhogam',[1] occurring in one of the Paramara grants, that Hiranya was an independent tax and it had nothing to do with Bhagakara The other sources of the government revenue namely House tax, Rent in cash, Tolls and other dues from the market and Ferry-tolls hardly need any explanation Impost on salt is identical with the lavanakara" of the Gahadavala grant [2]

The Paramara records do not give us different items of the State expenditure But we may have a general idea about them, if we think over the information, which is supplied to us by Sukra In fact, he is the only Niti writer, who records the principal items of expenditure of the State budget and points out the percentage of the total annual income, which was spent on each item He lays down the following statement of expenditure of a Kingdom, the annual income of which was about onelak.[3]

(i) The king and his household	18,000 or 18%
(ii) High officials	3,600 or 3 6%
(iii) Clerks and the government secretariate	1,200 or 1 2%
(iv) Queens and princes	3,600 or 3 6%
(v) Gifts to the learned	2,400 or 2 4%
(vi) Army	48,000 or 48%
(vii) Elephants,horses and gun powder	4,800 or 4 8%
(viii) Reserve Fund	18,000 or 18%

It is clear that the army was the most important head of expenditure as about 50%[1] of the total income was spent

1 *E I*, vol XI, p 182-183
2 *History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, p. 174-75
3 *Sukra*, VI, p 24
4 In the Sukraniti, we find another statement of the state expenditure, where different items have been shown as such —

(i) Army (वलम्)	50%
(ii) Gifts दानम	$8\frac{1}{3}$%
(iii) Principal officers	$8\frac{1}{3}$%
(iv) Administrative expenses (अधिकारिण)	$8\frac{1}{3}$%
(v) King's personal expenses (आत्मभोग)	$8\frac{1}{3}$%
(vi) Reserve Fund	$16\frac{2}{3}$%

Sukra I, p. 316-17

over defence Such a huge expenditure on this item was necessary at a time when imperialistic designs of rulers had made wars an every day affair In order to preserve his independence, every ruler had to spend a large amount of money over his military and its establishments Keeping in view the wars of aggrandizement, which were conducted by the Paramara rulers Siyaka II, Vakpati II, Sindhuraja and Bhojadeva, it may be presumed that military expenses under them must have been very heavy Besides this, between 20% to 25% of the total income was spent over the king and his household, the royal seraglio and princes Inshort, only these two items of expenditure covered about 70% to 75% of the total income In a monarchy, where an expensive court is to be maintained and in an age, when the personality of the King contributed much to the stability of the administration, the percentage of expenditure referred to under the royal head, though excessive, may be justified to a certain extent Another major item of expenditure was the State's annual contribution to the Reserve fund. It ranged from 15% to 20% of the total income Itwas a wholesome measure and was devised probably to maintain the financial credit of the Kingdom Possibly, it was this secret, which enabled Hindu princes of our period to finance their imperialistic wars The amount of expenditure, which was incurred upon principal officers and the government secretariate went to about 5%, though in one of the other budgets,[1] as referred to by Sukra, it amounted to 16 2/3% The reason, why administrative expenses were so low, was that the state servants were often granted land, in lieu of their services to the State Thus it is evident that about 8 1/3%[2] to 10% of the total income was left out for public welfare works It was a meagre sum and as such nothing significant could be done by the State for the Public weal Out of this amount of money about 2.4% was earmarked for bestowing gifts upon the learned, while the balance of about 8 1/3% was spent on religious ceremonies and other gifts As

1 *Sukra*, I, p 316-17
2 *Sukra*, I, p 316-17

the Paramara rulers Vakpati II and Bhojadeva were great patrons of the learned and were liberal in rewarding them, it may be presumed that under them the percentage of expenditure on this item must have been much more than what is referred to here As regards the performance of religious ceremonies the Paramara rulers were full of enthusiasm and Upendra,[1] the founder of their dynasty may be cited as an example

The Military:

The Paramara army was organised upon the basis of the same principles, which characterized the Hindu military system since long During our period, the same old reliance on the four angas of the traditional Hindu army minus the chariot was to be seen The Samarangana-Sutra-Dhara of Bhoja refers to the Caturangabala, which was to reside in the South-East (Agneya) corner of the city.[2] But there is no doubt that chariots were obsolete by this time and the Paramara army consisted of Infantry, cavalry and elephants only. The truth of our statement is supported by an inscription of the reign of the Paramara Arjunavarman, which states that the King possessed three classes of combatants [3] We agree with P C Chakravarti,[4] when he observes, "Of the four-fold army, chariot had long lost its importance as an effective limb and was less frequently employed in battles since the beginning of the eighth century, if not earlier" [5] The three-fold division of the army is clear from the expression, "hasty-asvajana-vyaprita".[6] There is evidence to show

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1 *Navasahasankacarita*, XI, V. 78, *E I*, vol I, p 237
2 *Bharatiya Vastu Sastra*, (Samarangana-Sutra—Dhara 15, Rajanivesa) pp 168-169
3. *J Am. O. S*, vol VII, p 26
4. *The Art of war in Ancient India*, pp 24-25
5. *The Military System in Ancient India* (Revised second edition) p 145
6. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* IV Pt II, p 604

that the Paramara rulers relied more on elephant corps than cavalry Merutunga informs us that Munja in his last battle against Tailapa lost 1476 elephants [1] The number of elephants in Munja's army does not appear to have been excessively exaggerated, as Ray,[2] quoting the authority of the Muslim historians, writes that the army which the Candella Vidyadhara mobilized against Sultan Mahmud in A D. 1022, consisted of elephants, the number of which ranged from 390 to 746. Sindhuraja attacked Gujarat with his elephant force[3] and after the conquest of Tripuri, Laksmadeva's elephants removed the fatigue of battle by bathing in the river Narmada [4] Even foreign rulers recognised the strength of elephants in the Paramara army, as a Hoysala inscription designates the Malava King as the master of elephants [5] It may be presumed that the Imperial Paramara rulers of Malava like Vakpati II and Bhoja possessed a large and strong army, as we are told that at a time, when the Paramara Kingdom was on decline, its armed forces amounted to thirty or forty thousand cavalry and innumerable infantry.[6] The principal weapons of war were bows and arrows,[7] spears and swords and soldiers who gained proficiency in the use of these weapons formed a class by themselves.[8] Bhoja is known to have practised archery.[9] Drums were beaten as a signal for beginning the march against the enemy [10] "Jharjharas" and

1 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 34

2 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol II, 690 footnote, 2.

3. *E I.* vol I, p 302.

4. *Ibid* vol II, p 192, V 30.

5 *E C*, vol. VI, Kd. No 156.

6. Elliot, *History of India*, vol III, p 76.

7 *Prabandhacintamani*, p 55.

8 *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra*, pp, 168-169.

9. *Prabandhacintamani*, p. 71.

10. *Ibid* p 44.

"Damaras" were used as war-drums [1] As forts played an important part in the defence of the kingdom, the soldiers were stationed there Each fort was under the charge of an officer, who was designated as "Durgadhikari [2] or Durgadhaksya or Kottapala [3] Ujjain, Dhara, Rahatgarh, Bhilsa Mandu and Gunapura were the places in the Paramara kingdom, which were fortified [4]

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1. *E I* vol II, p 192, V 30
2 *History of the Gandellas*, p 135
3 *The Military System in Ancient India* (Revised second edition), p 129
4 *J A S B*, vol VII, p 738, *Ibid*, vol V p 379, *E I*. vol IX, p. 121, *I A*, vol, XX, p 83, Brigg's *Firishta*, vol I p 211.

CHAPTER VII

Appendix

Appendix A

A descriptive List of the Paramara Inscriptions, belonging to the early rulers of the Imperial house of Dhara

1 Harsola Copper Plate grants (two sets) of the Paramara Siyaka dated V S 1005 (= A D 948) Found at village Harsola, Ahmadabad district The Garuda symbol appears on only one of the sets of the plates In the beginning, Amoghavarsha and Akalvarsha, the Rashtrakuta sovereigns of Malkhed have been referred to and "in that family"was born Bappaiparaja, whose son was Vairisimha Siyaka is referred to a Mahamandalika-Chudamani and Maharajadhiraja-pati He undertook a successful expedition against Yogaraja On return he encamped on the banks of the Mahi On the occasion of the Chandrarkka-Yoga-parva, he granted the Villages of Kumbharotaka and Sihaka in the Mohadavasaka-vishaya respectively to lallopadhyaya and Nina Dikshita of Gopali-gotra The grants, being the earliest Paramara records, are of great historical importance Edited by K N Dikshit and D B Diskalkar (*E I*,vol XIX, pp 236-244)

2 An odd copper Plate of Paramara Siyaka dated V S 1026(= A D 969) Found at Ahmedabad The first plate is lost, while the second *half of a grant is discovered* It contains the Garuda symbol Edited by D B Diskalkar (*E I*, vol XIX, pp 177-179)

3 Dharampuri (Dhar, Madhya Pradesh) now Indore Museum, plates of the Paramara P M P Vakpatirajadeva dated V S 1031 (=A D 974) Issued from Ujjayini The genealogy is

traced from P M P Krishnaraja, his successor, the P M P Vairisimha his successor, the P M P. Siyakadeva, his successor, the P M P Vakpati alias Amoghavarsha King Vakpatiraja bathed in the waters of the Siva lake, granted the Tadar by name Pipparika in the bhoga of Gardabhapaniya to a Brahmana philosopher Vasantacarya, son of Dhanika Pandita for the spiritual merit of himself and of his parents The record was executed by Kanhapaika, probably, the same person is mentioned in the grant of Siyaka, dated A D 969 First translated and commented on by Hall (J A S B, vol XXX, pp 195 ff) Edited by Kirtane (*I A*, vol, IV pp 51 ff)

4 Ujjain, now India office, Plates of the Paramara P M P. Vakpatirajadeva alias Amoghavarsha dated V S 1036 (=A D 979) Issued from the royal camp at Bhagavatpura, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse The genealogy is the same as in the Dharampuri Plates dated V S 1031 King Vakpatiraja, at the request of Asini, the wife of his Mahasadhanika Mahaika granted the village of Sembalapuraka to meet the expenses of the worship of the Bhattarika, the glorious Bhattasvari at Ujjayani, and for the up keep of her temple The order was executed by Rudraditya Edited by Rajendralal Mitra (J A S B, vol XIX, p 475 ff) and afterwards by Kielhorn (I A, vol XIV, p 160)

5 Banswara Plates of Bhojadeva dated V S 1076 (=A D 1020) Copper plates found at Banswara The genealogy is traced from P M P Siyakadeva, his successor, the P M P Vakpatirajadeva, his successor the P, M P Sindhurajadeva, his successor the P M P Bhojadeva. Bhojadeva, on the festival day (Parvani) in consequence of the conquest of Komkana, granted 100 nivartanas of land in the village Vatapadraka in the Ghaghradorabhoga of the Sthali mandala to the Brahmana Bhaila of the Vasishtha gotra Edited by E Hultzsch (E I vol XI, pp 181—183) Edited by D R. Bhandarkar (I A, vol XLI, p 201 ff).

6 Betma Plates of Bhojadeva dated Bhadrapada V S 1076 (=Sept. A D 1020) Copper plates found at Betma, a village,

16 miles to the west of Indore The genealogy is the same as in the Banswara Plates dated Jan 1020 A. D Bhojadeva, on the occupation of Komkana, granted Nalatadaga, one of the 17 villages in the Nyayapadra subdivision, to the Brahmana Pandita Delha of the Kausika gatra Edited by D B Diskalkar (E I, vol XVIII, pp 320—325)

7 Ujjain copper Plates of the Paramara P M P Bhojadeva dated Magha V S 1073(=Jan A D. 1021) Iasued from Dhara Found near a small stream called Naga Jhari Bhoja granted the village Viranaka, situated with in the district to the west of Nagadraha, to Dhanapati—Bhatta, a Rgvedi Brahmana Genealogy same Edited by Kirtane (I A, vol VI, pp 53 f)

8 Depalpur Copper—plate grant of Bhojadeva dated V S 1079 (=A D 1022) Iasued from Dhara Found at Depalpur, 24 miles north—west of Indore Genealogy same Bhojadeva granted some lands in the village Kirikaika in the western Pathaka of Ujjain, to a Brahmana Vacchala, son of Bhatta Sosvara Edited by R G Ojha (I H Q. vol, VIII, pp 305—315)

9 Sarasvati-Image (in the British Museum) stone inscription of Bhojadeva dated V S 1091 (=A D 1033) The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image of Sarasvati Bhoja caused this image of Vagdevi to be erected by a sculptor, Manathala, the son of the Sutradhara Sahira Written by Sivadva Transcribed by Dikshit (Rupam, 1924, p 2)

10 Tilakwada Plates of the feudatory Jasoraja and of the time of the Paramara Bhojadeva dated V S 1103 (=A D 1047) Found at Tilakwada, Baroda State The first plate is lost Jasoraja of the Samgamakheta-mandala, having worshipped Siva, called Manesvara, granted the village Viluhaga, alongwith a hundred nivartanas of land from the neighbouring village of Ghantapalli, for the maintenance of the temple of Ghantesvara The donee was a holy sage, by name Dinakara. Suraditya, the father of Jasoraja, who belonged to the Sravanabhadra family, meditated on the

feet of Bhojadeva and had emigrated from Kanyakubja He made the royal glory of Bhojadeva stable by vanquishing Sahavahana and other rival princes sohika, the writer of the plate inscribed it at the request of the king Edited by J S Kudalkar (Proceedings and transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p 319)

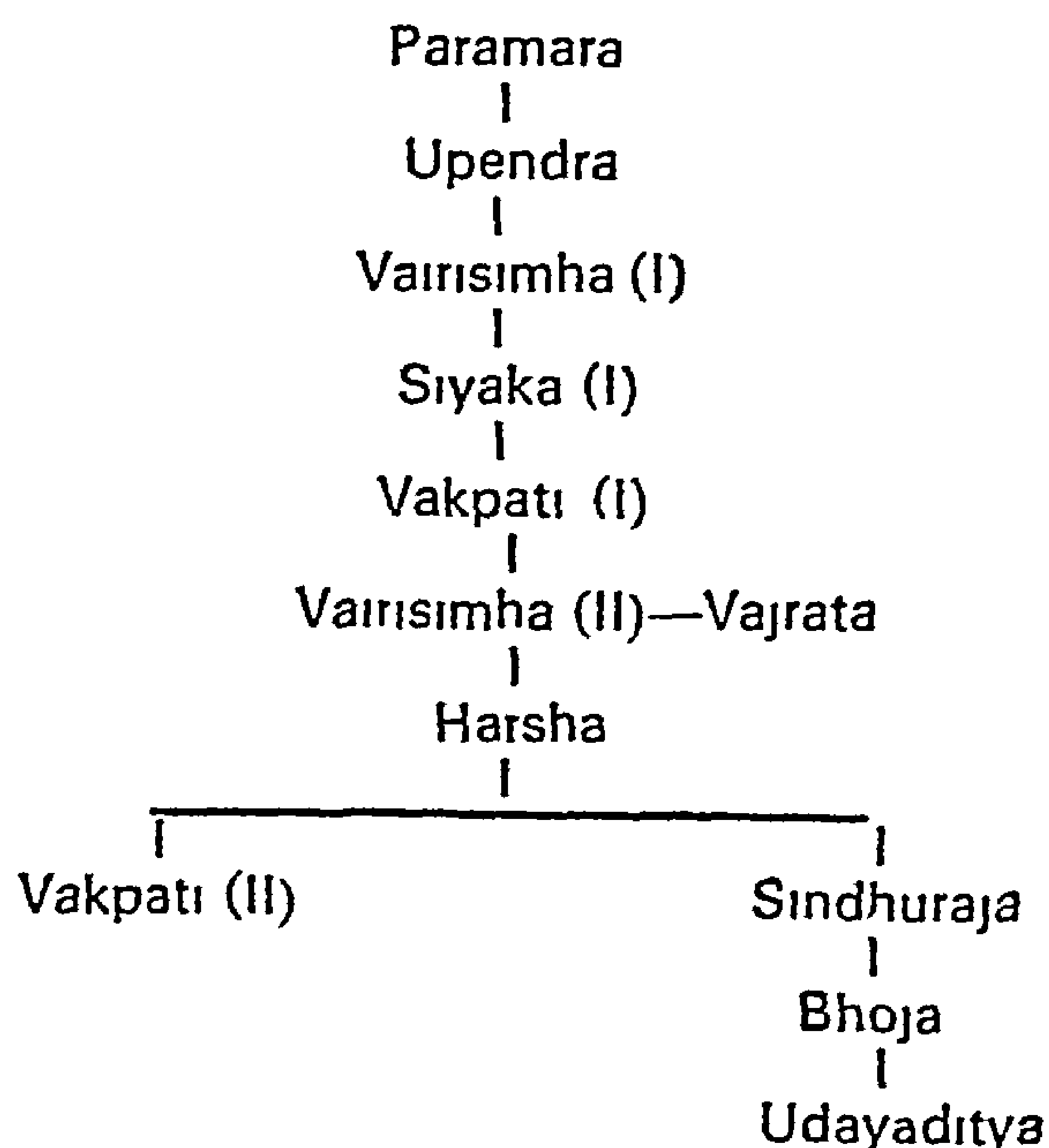
11. The Kalvan Copper plates of Yasovarman of the time of Bhoja Undated record Found near Kalvan, Nasik district Yasovarman obtained one-half of the town of Selluka from Bhojadeva and was in the enjoyment of 1,500 villages The genealogy of the Paramara rulers of Dhara (Malava) from Siyakadeva (II) to Bhojadeva has been referred to The Inscription belongs to the Svetambara sect of the Jaina religion Ranaka Amma, a chief of the Ganga family, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted certain pieces of land at Mahishabuddhika in the holy tirtha of Kalakalesvara to the temple of Munisuvratadeva in the Svetapada country Other donations to the temple consisted of two oil mills 14 Baniya shops and 14 drammas A number of officers, namely, Desilaka, Gramataka, Gokulika, Chaurika (Chaurika), Saulkika (Saulkika), Damdavasika (Dandapasika), Pratirajyika, and Mahattama have been referred to The writer of the grant was Samdhivigrahika Yogesvara of the twice-born race Edited by R D Banerji (E I, vol. XIX, p 69)

Some Later Paramara Inscriptions

12 Mandhata (Nimar Distt, Madhya Pradesh) Copper-plates of the Paramara P M P Jayasi-mhadeva dated V S 1112 (=A D 1055) Issued from Dhara The genealogy is traced from P M P Vakpatirajadeva (II), his successor, the P M P. Sindhurajadeva, his successor, the P M P. Bhojadeva, his successor, the P. M P Jayasimhadeva (lines 3-6) Jayasimhadeva granted the village of Bhima, which belonged to the Maktula village (group of) 42 in the Purnapathaka -mandala to the Brahmanas of the Pattasala at the holy Amaresvara, for food and other purposes The order about this grant was delivered to the people concerned by the king in person (Svayam-ajna) Edited by F Kielhorn (E I, vol III, pp 46-50)

13 Panahera Inscription of the time of Jayasimhadeva dated V S 1116 (=A D 1059) Engraved on a stone-slab, built into a wall of the temple of Mandlesar (Mandalesvara) Mahadeva at Panahera (in the former Banswara State, Rajputana) It consists of two parts The first 25 verses are given to the Paramaras of Malava, the rest to those of Vagada, who were their feudatories It mentions the origin of the Paramara family from the sacrificial fire on the Arbuda mountain (V 6) Munjadeva (V 10), Sindhuraja (V 13), (Bhojaraja, V 16), and Jayasimha (V 21) have been referred to It records the foundation of the temple of Mandalesvara (Siva) at Pamsulakhetaka (Panahera) and various endowments by Mandalika, the Paramara ruler of Vagada Jayasimha assigned to the god, for defraying the expenses of worship, one Vimsopaka on every bull (that passed) on the road and also some land at Pamsulakhetaka Edited by R R Halder (E I , Vol. XXI, pp 42—50)

14 Udayapur Prasasti of Udayaditya An undated record It is the only document, which gives an apparently complete enumeration of the earlier Paramara rulers of Malava The genealogy, as referred to herein, is as follows —



Edited by G Buhler (E I., Vol I, pp 233—236)

15 Nagpur Museum stone Inscription of the Paramara Naravarmadeva dated V S 1161(=A D 1104) The story of the Fire—pit origin of the hero Paramara on mount Arbuda is referred to in verses 8 to 15 In the family of the hero Paramara Vairisimha (VV 16—19), his son Siyaka (VV 20—22), his son Munjaraja (VV 23—25), his younger brother Sindhuraja (VV 26—28), his son Bhojadeva (VV 29—31), have been mentioned Verse 32 refers to Bhojadeva's end and during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, his relative Udayaditya became king Edited by Bal Gangadhar Sastri (J. B B R A S, Vol I, pp 259 ff) Also by F kielhorn (E I, vol II, p 180—195)

Appendix B

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Appendix C

Genealogical Table

